

GRAHAM NESSLER

“THE SHAME OF THE NATION”: THE FORCE OF
RE-ENSLAVEMENT AND THE LAW OF “SLAVERY” UNDER
THE REGIME OF JEAN-LOUIS FERRAND IN
SANTO DOMINGO, 1804-1809

On October 10, 1802, the French General François Kerverseau composed a frantic “proclamation” that detailed the plight of “several black and colored children” from the French ship *Le Berceau* who “had been disembarked” in Santo Domingo (modern Dominican Republic).¹ According to the “alarms” and “foolish speculations” of various rumor-mongers in that colony, these children had been sold into slavery with the complicity of Kerverseau.² As Napoleon’s chief representative in Santo Domingo, Kerverseau strove to dispel the “sinister noises” and “Vain fears” that had implicated him in such atrocities, insisting that “no sale [of these people] has been authorized” and that any future sale of this nature would result in the swift replacement of any “public officer” who authorized it. Kerverseau concluded by imploring his fellow “Citizens” to “distrust those who incessantly spread” these rumors and instead to “trust those who are charged with your safety; who guard over

1. In this era the term “Santo Domingo” referred to both the Spanish colony that later became the Dominican Republic and to this colony’s capital city which still bears this name. In this article I will use this term to refer only to the entire colony unless otherwise indicated.

2. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the French government’s Chateaubriand Fellowship and the Social Science Research Council’s International Dissertation Research Fellowship which enabled me to conduct the research for this article. This article has benefitted from the feedback of my fellow participants at the “We Must First Take Account” conference on race and legal history in the Americas held at the University of Michigan on 1-2 April 2011, at which I presented an earlier version of the article. The other Graduate and Faculty Fellows at the University of Michigan Institute for the Humanities also provided valuable comments on a version of this article that I presented at a Fellows’ Seminar in February 2011. Finally, I wish to thank Rebecca Scott, Richard Turits, Jean Hébrard, Marlyse Baptista, Laurent Dubois, and Malick Ghachem for their invaluable assistance in the composition and revision of this article.

you while you sleep, and who attach to the prosperity of this country, and to Yours, their happiness and their Glory.”³

Would Kerverseau clear his name? Would these children be fated for a life of bondage, or would they be able to enjoy the right to grow into free men and women? These children were among the thousands of individuals who found themselves at the center of conflicts over the meaning and boundaries of freedom and citizenship in the Haitian Revolutionary era (1789-1809). In the Haitian Revolution, the legal, economic, and perceived moral underpinnings of slavery came under sustained and unprecedented attack as the only successful slave revolt in world history transformed the French slaveholding colony of Saint-Domingue into the independent and emancipationist nation of Haiti. Neighboring Santo Domingo also underwent profound changes in this period, passing from Spanish to French rule in 1795 and therein from rule by a pro-slavery regime to one that professed universal emancipation.⁴ This article offers a reassessment of Santo Domingo under a Napoleonic regime that attempted to re-enslave thousands of individuals.

Kerverseau was part of a massive military expedition that Napoleon had deployed to Hispaniola (the island shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in late 1801 and early 1802 with the aim of deposing the island’s ruler Toussaint Louverture and asserting unquestioned metropolitan control over the entire island. By the fall of 1802, this expedition had also become committed to the hidden goal of the restoration of slavery.⁵ Keenly aware of the ferocious opposition that French forces would encounter should the island’s freed population get wind of the second of these motivations, the expedition’s leaders did their utmost to discredit rumors suggesting an impending return to slavery. This lent a special urgency to the *Berceau* incident, impelling Kerverseau to shore up the French Republic’s emancipationist credentials by denying all wrongdoing and promising harsh punishments for all would-be enslavers. Kerverseau’s determination to conceal this

3. Proclamation of François Kerverseau, 18 Vendémiaire an 11 (10 October 1802), Centre d’Accueil et de Recherche des Archives Nationales (hereinafter CARAN), Paris, 135 Archives Privées (hereinafter AP) 2, dossier 18.

4. The French National Convention had decreed the end of slavery in all French domains on 4 February 1794. This built on the general emancipation edicts that the French Civil Commissioners Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel had issued for French Saint-Domingue on 29 August and 31 October 1793.

5. On 24 July 1802, the expedition’s commander General Charles Leclerc wrote to the French Minister of the Decrès: “Do not think of restoring slavery for some time. I think I can arrange everything so that my successor has no more to do than to put the government’s decree into effect, but after the endless proclamations that I have issued here to ensure the blacks their freedom, I do not want to contradict myself, but assure the First Consul [Napoleon] that my successor will find everything ready” (quoted in Champion 2003:233).

objective from freed people on the island led him to take the extraordinary measure of calling upon several captives to testify on the circumstances of their captivity and forced transit. The remarkable series of "declarations" that survive in the archival record serve as evidence of a striking irony: that an official in the service of a campaign of re-enslavement invited captives to offer eyewitness accounts to assist an investigation into slaving. One such witness, a "*nègre créole de la Martinique*" (black Creole from Martinique) named Jean-Charles, claimed to have been captured from a Danish ship by the British off the coast of St. Thomas and then sent to Martinique, where he was placed on the *Berceau* and shipped to Santo Domingo.⁶

These attempts to prevent freed people from learning of the expedition's goal of re-enslavement ultimately proved futile, as the "common wind" of information spreading from diverse locales brought word not only of episodes such as the landing of the *Berceau* but also of France's successful restoration of slavery in Guadeloupe and the preservation of the institution in Martinique, which had spent most of the emancipation era (1794-1802) under slaveholding British rule (Scott 1986). The *Berceau* incident attests to the intense concern that French officials, including Kerverseau, had for their own credibility and that of an expedition that effectively sought to re-enslave hundreds of thousands of individuals.⁷ It also illustrates Santo Domingo's involvement in networks of captivity and coerced migration that became especially pronounced during a decade that witnessed fundamental challenges to both the transcontinental slave trade and slavery itself.

The French words *Le Berceau* translate as "The Cradle;" in practice Hispaniola in late 1802 was fast becoming a graveyard both of French Republican emancipation and of Napoleon's grand designs to reassert French imperial power in the Americas using Saint-Domingue as a base. For his part, Kerverseau felt his own position gravely jeopardized by the *Berceau* affair, forwarding to his superiors seven documents detailing the facts of the case. While these papers suggest that the embattled general had entrusted the children in question to a man named Cornet who would care for them as free people, they also hint at the existence of an enterprise of illicit slaving that involved Santo Domingo.⁸

6. Testimony of *Berceau* captives, Brumaire an 11 (23 October-21 November 1802), CARAN 135 AP 2, dossier 18.

7. In 1789, French Saint-Domingue had contained roughly half a million slaves who had constituted 90 percent of the population, while in Spanish Santo Domingo at this same time the enslaved population had stood at approximately 15,000, or 15 percent of the total population. On Saint-Domingue, see Dubois 2004a:30. On Santo Domingo, see Moreau de St-Méry 1796:44 and Turits 2003:30.

8. L. Delpech to Kerverseau, Vendémiaire an 11 (23 September-22 October 1802), CARAN 135 AP 2, dossier 18.

These children and other captives found themselves in the middle of the reversal of the hemisphere's first large-scale experience with general emancipation. The reestablishment of slavery in France's overseas colonies imbued longstanding quandaries with urgent new significance. Could one capture a juridically free individual in one jurisdiction and then proceed to claim him or her as a slave in another? On what legal basis could a person held as a slave sue for his or her freedom? Long before the French Republic formally abolished slavery in all its colonies in 1794, legal struggles over the boundaries of freedom had emerged from the dense webs of extralegal commerce in both human beings and material goods, the physical proximity of many islands claimed by competing colonial powers, and divergences in colonial slave law across colonies (including those in the same empire). Then, after 1802, the successful struggle against slavery in Saint-Domingue/Haiti transformed the scope of claims-making for those held as slaves and gave rise to powerful new liberation discourses.

In early 1804, following the Napoleonic expedition's defeat, two enemies formed governments on either side of the island. While Toussaint Louverture's onetime subordinate Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaimed the birth of emancipationist Haiti in 1804, General Jean-Louis Ferrand, a veteran of the doomed expedition, established a regime in the eastern part of the island that was driven by the overriding objective of placing thousands of freed people back into bondage. Partly in response to the presence of the abolitionist nation next door, Ferrand strove to make slavery a juridical and social reality in Santo Domingo, prompting those targeted by these efforts to fight back. This article explores the conflicts that emerged when men and women in Santo Domingo challenged the fact and terms of their subjugation. It argues that, while Ferrand undertook a massive project of attempted re-enslavement, those claimed as slaves or vulnerable to enslavement devised a multitude of ways to carve out their own versions of freedom.

Presenting *re-enslavement* as the *raison d'être* of the Ferrand regime presumes that slavery had previously been legally abolished in Santo Domingo. The wording of the 1795 Treaty of Basel (which established the terms of Santo Domingo's cession to France) and that of the French National Convention's 1794 general emancipation law together imply that slavery indeed became illegal in Santo Domingo upon this cession.⁹ It is not clear,

9. The Treaty of Basel stipulated that Spain "cede and abandon in all propriety to the French Republic the entire Spanish part of the isle of Saint Domingue, in the Antilles." Treaty of Basel, 4 Thermidor an 3 (22 July 1795), CARAN AF/III/61. The 4 February 1794 law of general emancipation passed by the French National Convention stated: "THE NATIONAL CONVENTION declares that the slavery of Blacks in all the [French] Colonies is abolished: as a result it decrees that all men, without distinction of color, residing in the colonies, are French citizens, and shall enjoy all the rights assured by the [French]

however, whether slavery was ever explicitly reestablished in law by the French in Santo Domingo in the years that followed the 1795 cession.

One speech and one military order constitute the only surviving documentary evidence that Napoleon endorsed the restoration of slavery in Santo Domingo. In a riposte to the pro-slavery arguments of the former Saint-Domingue intendant François Barbé-Marbois, Napoleon in a speech before the *Conseil d'État* (Council of State), had on August 16, 1800 proposed a plan that would retain slavery in territories such as Martinique (where foreign occupation and local opposition to emancipation had kept the institution intact after 1794) while preserving formal emancipation in places such as Saint-Domingue and Guadeloupe where emancipationist regimes had come to power. "My policy is to govern men as most want to be governed," Napoleon had stated in this speech. "I believe that this is the manner of recognizing the sovereignty of the people ... thus, I will speak of liberty in the free part of Saint-Domingue; I will confirm slavery in Ile-de-France [an Indian Ocean territory where planters had retained slavery in violation of the 1794 emancipation law], [and] even in the enslaved part of Saint-Domingue [Santo Domingo]; allowing myself to soften and limit slavery, where I will maintain it; [and] reestablish order and introduce discipline, where I will maintain liberty" (quoted in Roederer 1909:15-16).

Moreover, on October 31, 1801 Napoleon had issued a lengthy series of instructions to his brother-in-law, General Charles Leclerc, whom he had appointed to lead the expedition to Hispaniola. In these instructions Napoleon had declared: "If the political goal [of the expedition] in the French part of Saint-Domingue should be to disarm the blacks and make them cultivators, but free, we should in the Spanish part disarm them as well, but place them back into slavery."¹⁰

Yet no known legal mechanism backed up this order, as the two measures that did address the reestablishment of slavery in the French empire did not encompass Santo Domingo. On May 20, 1802, Bonaparte's legislature passed a law composed of four short articles that simply confirmed slavery in those areas where it had been maintained *de facto*. The law's four articles are worth quoting in their entirety:

First Article: In the colonies returned to France in execution of the Treaty of Amiens of 6 Germinal Year Ten [27 March 1802], slavery will be maintained in accordance with the laws and regulations prior to 1789.

constitution [of 1793]" (emphasis in original). "Decree of the National Convention ... That abolishes the Slavery of Blacks in the Colonies," 16 Pluviôse an 2 (4 February 1794), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/9.

10. Napoleon, "Notes pour servir aux instructions à donner au Capitaine Général Leclerc," 31 October 1801, in Roussier 1937:272.

Article 2: This will also be the case in the other French colonies beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

Article 3: The trade in Blacks and their importation in the said colonies will take place in accordance with the laws and regulations in force before the said date of 1789.

Article 4: Notwithstanding all of the preceding laws, the colonial regime is subject for ten years to the regulations that will be made by the government. (quoted in Branda & Lentz 2006:121-22)

In simply stating that “slavery will be maintained” in those colonies that Britain had “returned” to France by the Treaty of Amiens (Saint Lucia and Martinique), this measure thus did not legalize the reestablishment of slavery in Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe, or Guyana, which had come under emancipationist governments after 1793.¹¹ It was also silent on Santo Domingo, as was a lesser-known “consular order” (*arrêté consulaire*) which stipulated that: “[t]he colony of Guadeloupe and dependences will be governed in the manner of Martinique, Saint Lucia, Tobago, [and the] eastern colonies, by the same laws that were in place in 1789” (quoted in Niort & Richard 2009:36). Scrupulously avoiding the use of the word “slave,” this order made no mention of either Saint-Domingue or Santo Domingo. Moreover, the French scholars Jean-François Niort and Jérémy Richard (2009:58), who have unearthed surviving copies of this order, have argued that the order may not have carried legal weight even in Guadeloupe. They contended that “the reestablishment of slavery, and more generally of the old segregationist and discriminatory order in Guadeloupe [after 1802] rested, for 46 years, on a legality that was more questionable than that of the law of 30 Floréal an X (20 May 1802).”

This article explores the intersections of the force of re-enslavement and the law of “slavery” in Santo Domingo during the reign of General Ferrand, which lasted from 1804 to 1809. As the historian Yves Bénot (2006:93-99) has shown, the abandonment of emancipation by Napoleon’s Consular government provoked considerable opposition in metropolitan France among those who condemned slavery, racism, and colonialism (though not always all three together). In Santo Domingo, a different form of opposition emerged: that of freed people who sought to preserve their liberty. The very uncertainty of their condition, as much as the abject deprivation that they so feared, gave them a visceral appreciation for liberty. It is their actions – often in vain, occasionally with success – that animate this article.

11. On the situation in Martinique, see Schloss 2009 and Geggus 1996. On Guadeloupe, see Dubois 2004b and Régent 2004. On the Indian Ocean colony of La Réunion, see Allen 2008.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS OVER ENSLAVEMENT AND
CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

"The General in Chief [Leclerc] had ... the double task of reestablishing [in Saint-Domingue] legitimate authority by the force of arms and by that of Laws. The Second [task] was perhaps still more difficult than the first, since it was necessary to complete it in the tumult of the Camps."¹² In a report to Paris composed on February 25, 1803, one anonymous observer of the upheaval in Hispaniola hinted at the intertwined nature of "law" and "force" in slave societies and the extraordinary amount of the latter that was needed to re-impose a slaveholding legal order on thousands of individuals who had taken up arms to avoid a return to servitude. This in turn attests to the violence and tortuous legal logic that were at the heart of all American slave societies. In societies predicated upon the forced servitude of some of their members, conflicts often emerged between these two pillars of "force of arms" and "laws," as "existing relations of force," in Rebecca Scott's (2009:134) words, ultimately undergirded master-slave relations.¹³

"Race" as a concept and a stigma constituted the third pillar in the slave society that Ferrand sought to construct. By the eve of the Haitian Revolution, slavery in much of the Americas had become strongly associated with African descent, and racist ideologies underlay the slave systems of both French Saint-Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo, even as these ideologies took on distinctly different forms in these two contexts. Antiracism and antislavery, though, did not always converge in the early years of the revolution, as in the case of free-colored activists who grounded part of their arguments for the abolition of institutionalized racism in a defense of slavery.¹⁴ Nonetheless, hard-won legislative triumphs against legalized racial discrimination (1792) and against slavery (1793-1794) became enshrined in the 1795 French constitution which declared all the inhabitants of the French empire to possess equal citizenship rights, while the erosion of these gains after 1795 again drew racism and slavery closely together. After replacing

12. Anonymous report to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, 6 Ventôse an 11 (25 February 1803), CARAN Colonies CC/9b/22.

13. For further discussion of the process of status determination in a context of re-enslavement, see Scott 2011.

14. In their campaign for the repeal of racist laws, free-colored activists split over the question of slavery. While some joined or supported the abolitionist Society of the Friends of the Blacks (founded in 1788 by the activist and politician Jacques-Pierre Brissot), others argued that granting free men of color equal citizenship rights would reward and ensure their vital role in protecting the slave system. Among the latter was Julien Raimond, a wealthy indigo planter who in the late 1780s owned one hundred slaves (Garrigus 2006:234-63).

this constitution in 1799 with a document characterized by a much more restrictive conception of citizenship, Napoleon coupled his (partial) repeal of the 1794 emancipation decree with an array of racist laws. These included a reinstatement of the infamous pre-revolutionary *Police des Noirs* regulations which had aimed to closely monitor the activities of persons of African extraction in France, the reinstitution of the requirement that blacks carry identity cards while in the metropole, prohibitions on mixed-race persons' entry into France, and a ban on interracial marriage.¹⁵

An integral part of Ferrand's enterprise of re-enslavement was his effort to re-inscribe racial categories into the law and to map them onto the island's political geography. In a study of 103 acts created by French notaries in Ferrand-era Santo Domingo that recognized the freedom of one or more individuals, I found that 78 percent of all freed subjects were identified with a racial label, rather than the term *citoyen/citoyenne* (citizen), which was typically applied to parties of diverse social standing in notarial records and other documents in the emancipation period (Nessler 2012). Ferrand also enforced a distinction between "French" blacks, whom he associated with Haiti and considered especially subversive, and "Spanish" blacks, deemed somewhat less dangerous.¹⁶ In this respect the actions of Ferrand mirrored those of his counterparts in other parts of the Americas, as Cuban officials generally sought to bar the settlement on that island of free and freed men of color from Saint-Domingue, while North American authorities passed laws designed to halt or greatly reduce the entrance of so-called "French Negroes" into the United States (Peabody 2008, Scott & Hébrard 2008:33).¹⁷

Proximity to Haiti heightened these anxieties for Ferrand, who in a January 25, 1804 letter to a subordinate related his fears concerning a "quantity of blacks and people of color of both sexes, refugees from the French part [Haiti], who are continually in idleness and who will surely become dangerous especially if the Brigands [Haitians] invade the land."¹⁸ Such sentiments resulted in a 15 September 1804 order by Ferrand to create a comprehensive registry that recorded the following information for all "French blacks and people of color" over twelve years old: their names, ages, legal status ("free or slave"), and "from which neighborhood and plantation they come," in addition to their present place of domicile. Ferrand also proposed either

15. For details on these laws, see Heuer 2009 and Schloss 2009:24.

16. For instance, on 22 May 1804, Ferrand declared that while "Spanish" inhabitants of the Department of Cibao could enter the Department of Ozama, most "French blacks and men of color" were prohibited entry. Ferrand to Sandoval, 2 Prairial an 12 (22 May 1804), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

17. On the United States and "French Negroes," see also White 2010.

18. Ferrand to Vives, 4 Pluviôse an 12 (25 January 1804), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

employing "French black and colored slaves" (*nègres et gens de couleur français esclaves*) in "useful jobs" or loaning them out.¹⁹

Ferrand issued an assortment of other racially discriminatory orders, some implicitly in response to claims-making by both those claimed as slaves and those deemed to be of African descent who were acknowledged as free. These laws included curfews, racially based exclusion from emigration and immigration programs, anti-vagabondage measures, and even discrimination in treatment for illnesses.²⁰ In re-creating the twin legal constructions of slavery and race, Ferrand employed as his model colonial French Saint-Domingue, where authorities especially after 1763 had tried to institutionalize racial categories in order to buttress the slave system by imposing a spate of laws targeting the political and civil rights as well as the dignity of the free-colored population.²¹ In the spirit of a "Police Ordinance" from November 19, 1773

19. Ferrand to Vives, 28 Fructidor an 12 (15 September 1804), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40. While I have not located any surviving copies of such a registry in my research, both the salience of race and perceptions of fused racial and political identities are evident in extant demographic data. For instance, a census published by the Ferrand regime on 1 January 1808 divided the population of the colony of Santo Domingo into four categories: "European Whites" (*Blancs Européens*), of which 948 were listed; "Whites of the Country" (*Blancs du Païs [sic]*), of which there were 12,193; "Creoles of color" (*Créols [sic] de couleur*) (29,996 listed); and "Slaves" (*Esclaves*) (7,052). "General State of the Population of the Eastern Part of Saint-Domingue, as of the First of January 1808," 1 January 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45. In addition, in an 18 November 1808 census for the city of Santo Domingo, 3,875 inhabitants were listed as "French," while the remaining 3,891 were labeled "Spanish." The census takers listed a quarter (24.7 percent) of the city's "French" population as "black" (*nègre* or *nègresse*) while applying this label to only 13 percent of the "Spanish" population. "General State of the population of the City of Santo Domingo on 18 November 1808," 18 November 1808, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (hereinafter SHAT), Vincennes, France, B7 13.

20. One such curfew prohibited most "Blacks and Mulattos" (*Nègres et Mulâtres*) from being outside after seven in the evening. Ferrand to Colonel Pichot, 7 January 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45. During the 1805 siege of Santo Domingo city by Haitian forces, Ferrand instructed the "Notables of Santo Domingo" to compose a detailed listing of families that would be eligible for evacuation, which was to only include "whites, and others considered as such." Ferrand to "Notables of Santo Domingo," 13 Ventôse an 13 (4 March 1805), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40. Furthermore, in one order from 26 February 1804, Ferrand invited only white Saint-Domingue refugees to settle in Santo Domingo. Ferrand order on refugees, 25 February 1804, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI), Seville, Spain, Papeles de Cuba (hereinafter Cuba), 1705. Finally, when undergoing treatment in Santo Domingo's hospitals, "black and mulatto" nurses could not claim any part of their salary, while their "white" counterparts would receive half of their salary in the same situation. Vives to "Colonial Inspector," 18 March 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9b/3.

21. For details on these laws, see Dubois 2004a, Chapter 3, and Garrigus 2006, chapters 5 and 7.

that had ordered the arrest and imprisonment of all “Black slaves who try to pass for free” in Port-au-Prince, the Ferrand government imposed all manner of restrictions on the mobility of non-whites, seeking to enslave those who could not prove their freedom and to disenfranchise those who could.²² For instance, in a February 27, 1806 order, Ferrand banned the bestowal on any person of color of inheritance exceeding the value of 100 *gourdes* that was against the interests of “absent rightful heirs,” while on December 31, 1807 he decreed that the subjects of all État Civil records in their name must furnish written proof of their free status.²³

Ferrand sought to repudiate not only the legacies of the emancipation era but also a much deeper struggle for equality that could invoke roots in the 1685 *Code Noir*, the comprehensive code promulgated under Louis XIV that had granted ex-slaves “the same rights, privileges, and liberties that persons born free enjoy” (Sala-Molins 1987:200).²⁴ As the legal scholar Malick Ghachem (2002) has argued, the efforts of many free-colored individuals to realize this egalitarian promise throughout the eighteenth century constituted a central aspect of the deep legal history of the Haitian Revolution. The notarial archive offers hints that these conflicts continued in Santo Domingo under Ferrand.

In their long struggle against these racist laws, free-colored activists from Saint-Domingue had devoted scrupulous attention to law and to the adroit manipulation of language. John Garrigus (2006:95) observes that “[t]he first free colored spokesmen in revolutionary Paris – a merchant and a planter – were so skilled at legalistic argument that historians have mistakenly described them as ‘lawyers’.” Language, especially in the context of administrative and legal documentation, also became an important terrain for contestation over rights in Santo Domingo under Ferrand. The language of notarized liberty acts often displayed an ambiguity concerning the scope of citizenship there. A discernible tension existed between two statements that one encounters repeatedly in these acts: that the person thus freed would live like “other freed people”; or that the freed subject would have “all of the rights” of “*anciens libres*” (the formerly free; i.e. those who had never been slaves).²⁵ This tension was rooted in

22. “Police Ordinance concerning So-called Free Blacks,” 19 November 1773, Archives Nationales d’Outre-mer (hereinafter ANOM), Aix-en-Provence, France, Collection Moreau de St-Méry (hereinafter CMSM) F3 273.

23. Ferrand order on inheritances, 27 February 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42; Ferrand order on Napoleonic Civil Code, 31 December 1807, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/44. The État Civil was the official archive of births, marriages, and deaths in France and in its colonies.

24. For an abridged and translated version of the *Code Noir*, see Dubois & Garrigus 2006:49-54.

25. According to one notarial act, Louise-Félicité dite Agard was to be “freed from the yoke of slavery, and Free, as all the other freed people of the colony, to enjoy, and make use of her Free state ... and as the former regulations and Laws [illegible] in the colony of Saint

the bitter political and legal history of colonial Saint-Domingue. By the 1780s, living like "other freed people" often meant enduring political disenfranchisement and innumerable quotidian humiliations in spite of the promise of equal rights contained in the *Code Noir*; while the ability to claim the status of "formerly free" could enable one to avoid these curtailments of rights.

Two notarial acts highlight these conflicts. On 17 October 1806 in Santo Domingo city, the Saint-Domingue refugee Rozine *dite* Alzire came before a notary with a August 19, 1803 act of sale (created in Saint-Domingue's former commercial capital of Le Cap) which confirmed that her mother Rosalie *dite* Dufay had purchased her in order to free her. This 1803 act had labeled Rosalie a "*mulâtresse libre affranchie*" (free freed mulatto), but the word "*affranchie*" (freed) had been crossed out. The 1803 document then declared that Rozine would enjoy "all of the rights ... attached to The Class Of Free men."²⁶ Moreover, the December 12, 1805 Santo Domingo city manumission act of the adolescents Zénon and Solon noted that they would "enjoy liberty from this day forth, as the other freed people enjoy it in this Colony, by virtue of the edict of the month of March 1685 [the *Code Noir*]."²⁷

Of course, the mere invocation of the *Code Noir* in this and other acts in no way implied its wholesale and faithful application, any more than was the case in colonial Saint-Domingue. Nonetheless, the *Code*'s provisions of equality and the history of free-colored activism associated with them may have represented grounds for the advancement of claims by those targeted by the regime's racist laws. Furthermore, correspondence and reports concerning disputes over the ownership of several "slaves" suggest the ability of the purportedly enslaved to exploit legal and documentary mechanisms to improve their condition. While the *Code* had represented for free-colored leaders a latent royal commitment to a legal regime of racial equality, it had distinctly different meanings for those still held in bondage. Though the *Code* contained certain avenues for escape from servitude (such as being named the executor of the master's will and marriage to the master) along with provisions requiring masters to provide for slaves' basic subsistence and to refrain from "barbarous and inhumane treatments ... of their slaves," its stance on matters such as slaves' serving as witnesses was much less liberal than its position on the rights of manumitted persons (Dubois & Garrigus 2006:51-

Domingue prescribe, concerning the manumission of slaves." Freeing of Louise-Félicité *dite* Agard, 30 April 1804, ANOM Dépôt des Papiers Publics des Colonies, Notariat de Saint-Domingue (hereinafter DPPC NOT SDOM) 699. In the manumission act of Étienne Eloi, the terms of freedom were as follows: "Étienne Eloi, [is to] be, and remain from this moment Free, and freed from the bonds of servitude ... [and] fully enjoy her Liberty, and dispose of her person as all the other formerly Free people, and freed people of the colony." Freedom act of Étienne Eloi, 28 July 1804, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 699.

26. Dépôt of Rozine *dite* Alzire, 17 October 1806, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 705.

27. Freedom of Zénon and Solon, 12 December 1805, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 735.

53, Sala-Molins 1987:142). Nonetheless, some of those held in bondage in Santo Domingo in the Ferrand period stretched the boundaries of the law, forcing authorities to address their claims to switch masters, to reunite with an allegedly enslaved relative who had been transferred to another location, or to escape from servitude altogether.²⁸

As in other slave societies, many slaves in French Saint-Domingue had sought to attain their freedom by purchasing themselves from their masters, leading colonial authorities in 1711 to pass a law requiring official authorization of all manumissions (Ghachem 2002:60-61). A century later, Ferrand appears also to have targeted this practice in his efforts to limit manumissions. On December 26, 1807, Ferrand decreed that henceforth no “Slave” could sell “dry goods” in the streets, requiring all “People of color” who wished to sell such goods to provide written proof of their liberty and pay a deposit. Though he based this order on the claim that unfree dry goods sellers frequently engaged in theft, it may have represented an attempt to reduce these alleged slaves’ opportunities to accumulate the funds for self-purchase.²⁹

Those claimed as slaves in Ferrand’s Santo Domingo also struck against their predicament by provoking or exploiting disputes over their purported ownership. In a July 28, 1808 letter to a don Juan Castillos, Ferrand described a conflict concerning the ownership of a black Creole named Manuel Aldaña, who was detained in a prison in Seybo (eastern Santo Domingo). While Feliciano Cabrera, a native of the border town of Híncha who had emigrated to Seybo, claimed to have “lost” (*perdu*) this would-be slave in Híncha, a man named Jean Lemdez also asserted his rights over him. Lemdez meticulously assembled a dossier of evidence to prove his case, including a notarial act of his purchase of Manuel from Thomas Figueredo, a native of Bánica (western Santo Domingo), created by the notary Antonio Pérez. Other documentation traced the purported ownership of Manuel back to a Dionicio Hernández, whose succession had transferred Manuel to his brother Santiago. Ferrand requested that Santiago Hernández appear before Castillos in order to show one or more “titles of property” over Manuel so that the matter might be resolved.³⁰

28. In colonial Cuba, litigation and other actions by slaves led to the creation of two legal rights for slaves: *coartación* (self-purchase in installments) and *pedir papel* (to “request paper” to change masters). For a discussion that situates these phenomena within the contexts of Spanish-American slave law and Cuban slave society, see Fuente 2007.

29. Order of Ferrand on dry goods sales, 26 December 1807, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42. The *Code Noir*’s Article XIX forbade slaves from “sell[ing] any type of foodstuffs” in the “market” or in “private houses” “without the express permission of their masters by a note or by known marks, on pain of confiscation of the items thus sold” (Sala-Molins 1987:128). Ferrand may have sought to close this loophole in this 1807 order. For more on self-purchase in Santo Domingo under Ferrand, see Nessler 2012.

30. Ferrand to don Juan Castillos, 28 July 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45. On 20 July 1808, Ferrand had asked Lemdez in a letter to come before him with Manuel and with

Buried in this voluminous paper trail is Manuel's own agency: the pivotal word "lost" implies that he may have become a fugitive, creating this dispute over his ownership by his attempts to escape from bondage.

While Manuel's possible intended destination is unknown, other men and women held in servitude in French Santo Domingo sought their freedom by fleeing to Haiti. A cadastral survey completed in 1806 noted that two of the three "blacks" who had labored on the L'Espérance ranch had "followed the rebels [Haitians] in their flight" in the wake of Dessalines's 1805 attack on Santo Domingo.³¹ More evidence of flight appears in a September 3, 1807 letter that a woman named Ana Victoria Lasapelo wrote to the Commandant in Chief of the Western Subdivision in Santo Domingo. In it, she implored her interlocutor to apprehend a "slave" named Mauricio who had departed with the "Brigands" (Haitians), offering to provide proof of ownership if requested.³² On what legal basis did this unspecified written proof of Mauricio's status rest if, as is likely, he had been freed by the 1793-1794 emancipation edicts? Would his settlement in Haiti invalidate his purported master's claims on his person? Implicit in the assertion that this document superseded his actions was the attempted re-creation of slavery in the documentary record. This letter serves as a reminder that the re-imposition of slavery in Santo Domingo entailed quasi-legal as well as military force.

Some of those who could not escape servitude by legal or extralegal means found that certain aspects of associational life enabled them to ameliorate their condition. As in many other parts of Latin America, Catholic brotherhoods had become part of the social fabric in colonial Santo Domingo, and they offered members of various statuses and conditions numerous forms of social, material, and spiritual support.³³ Under Ferrand, some "slaves" appear to have continued to find that these groups enabled them to attain a degree of autonomy. The 1806 cadastral survey for instance listed "61 blacks" among the "rural Properties" of the Department of Cibao who were part of the "Brotherhood of St. Antoine" located in the northern Dominican city of

the proper "titles" that would prove ownership over Manuel in order to settle the dispute. Ferrand to Lemdez, 20 July 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45.

31. "Summary of the Cadastral Register of the Domains of the French Empire," 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42.

32. Ana Victoria Lasapelo to Monsieur P.C. Desile, Commandant in Chief of the Western Subdivision, 3 September 1807, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/44.

33. Catholic brotherhoods in colonial Latin America often assisted enslaved members in purchasing their freedom, and in one case one such organization fomented a radical critique of slavery that influenced the highest levels of the Catholic Church hierarchy. During a visit to Rome in the 1680s, an Afro-Brazilian leader of the Lisbon-based Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary named Lourenço da Silva compelled the papacy to issue an anti-slavery declaration which was "among the most notable statements on human rights ever to have been published by the papacy" (Gray 1987:52).

Santiago. "These blacks have always lived in a state of independence," this survey noted, "which has never permitted [officials] to collect any goods from them."³⁴

In some instances, those claimed as slaves subverted legal restrictions and obliged authorities to call them to testify in contentions over proper ownership. According to the notes of a session of a government commission from February 9, 1805, an unnamed woman had made a claim to recover her daughter Anastasie, who had been taken from the Cambariva plantation by a Nicolás González and sent to Puerto Rico in exchange for the "*petit nègre*" Juannico. Anastasie's mother insisted to the "Captain General" (presumably Ferrand) that her daughter and Juannico be returned to their original residences. Ferrand requested that both Juannico and Anastasie's mother appear as declarants before a government commission in order to resolve the problem.³⁵

On June 4, 1808, Ferrand wrote to Castet, a military commander in Samaná, concerning the alleged slave Nicolás, currently held in prison in Samaná, who had advanced a claim to belong to the family of a man named Sosa against the opposition of Julián Vallejos. Ferrand ordered Nicolás to appear in Santo Domingo city that authorities could determine his "legitimate owner."³⁶

While the original 1685 redaction of the *Code Noir* had severely limited slaves' ability to provide testimony by denying their word any legal weight, the 1724 revisions to the *Code* stipulated that slaves could be witnesses in civil or criminal cases only if their testimony was necessary, no white witnesses were available, and they were not testifying for or against their master (Watson 1989:88). According to Ghachem, though these small "loopholes" existed in French colonial slave law in order to "prosecute slave 'crimes' for which the only available evidence was the eyewitness report of another slave," such provisions became invoked in ways unintended by their framers. For instance, in a 1775 investigation into a complaint brought by a slave named Thomas against his master concerning alleged abusive treatment, the magistrate of Le Cap heard Thomas's testimony (Ghachem 2002:136-40).³⁷ In compelling colonial officials to call them as witnesses, Nicolás and Anastasie's mother likewise

34. "Summary of the Cadastral Register of the Domains of the French Empire," 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42.

35. "Commission charged with the examination of the Management of the ex-administrator Nicolás González," Session of 20 Pluviôse an 13 (9 February 1805), CARAN Colonies CC/9b/15.

36. Ferrand to Castet, 4 June 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45.

37. France, unlike Spain, had no explicit legal mechanism by which slaves could claim redress against owners who treated them especially cruelly, except as concerns the deprivation of nourishment and clothing and the practice of forcing slaves to work on Sundays and holidays (Sala-Molins 1987:102, 134-42, Watson 1989:86) (Articles VI and XXII-XXVI of the *Code Noir*).

took advantage of these "loopholes" in a way that contravened the spirit of the legal regime that Ferrand sought to put in place.

Ferrand employed his own legal tools in his most draconian policy: the capture and enslavement of Haitians. In an order issued on January 6, 1805, Ferrand authorized those living near the border with Haiti to enter Haiti and "make prisoners" of Haitians who were under fourteen years of age, who would become the "property" of their captors. Females under twelve years old and males under ten could not be returned to Haiti but could be either "attached" to a plantation or sold. Ferrand entrusted his commandant, Joseph Ruiz, and other trusted subordinates with the task of issuing official certificates affirming these captives' ownership and their capture in the "territory occupied by the rebels."³⁸ Furthermore, Ferrand stated in a letter to Ruiz that Haitian males in Santo Domingo over fourteen years of age should be shot.³⁹

Extant notarial records provide further evidence of such slaving. On February 3, 1808, a man named Senabrier sold a woman named Marie-Catherine to a buyer named Chadefand for 144 *gourdes*. Marie-Catherine had initially been "captured among the Brigands" before being sold twice. A December 26, 1807 certificate created by her first owner Anastacio Váldez (appended to this notarial act) elaborated that Marie-Catherine had been "captured in the enemy part [Haiti]" before coming into Váldez's possession.⁴⁰ On September 11, 1808, a man named Espaillat sold four children to Ferrand's second-in-command, General Joseph Barquier. Three of them had been "captured among the rebels" according to certificates mentioned in the notarial act.⁴¹ As with the certificates issued by Ruiz, these notarial records sought to re-inscribe slavery into the documentary record.

Slaving in Santo Domingo under Ferrand rested on a mix of opportunism and hatred and fear towards the new nation of Haiti. This in turn entailed a wholesale rejection of both the revolutionary emancipation decrees and of emancipations granted by onetime slaves-turned-generals. In one November 8, 1804 letter to a subordinate named Peralta, Ferrand rejected even the limited manumissions that the royalists Jean-François and Georges Biassou had offered in the early 1790s. Insisting that these men had never had the "right" to liberate anybody, Ferrand declared that all "French black and colored slaves" who had been given their "liberty" by either of these men did not have a valid claim to freedom and thus must be "considered as Slaves." By contrast, Ferrand argued that the former "Spanish Slaves" who had received

38. Order of Ferrand on capture of Haitians, 16 Nivôse an 13 (6 January 1805), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

39. Ferrand to Joseph Ruiz, 16 Nivôse an 13 (6 January 1805), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

40. Sale of Marie-Catherine, 3 February 1808, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 1700.

41. Sale of four children, 11 September 1808, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 1701.

their liberty from the “King of Spain” due to service in colonial armies ought to remain free.⁴² In this letter, Ferrand implicitly responded to would-be slaves’ potential efforts to attain liberty, accepting only a narrow range of claims to free status.

On other occasions, Ferrand tapped into the legal and social history of the *Code Noir*, which had proclaimed the French king to be the ultimate arbiter of legal condition. In giving legal justification to this captive-taking, however, Ferrand disregarded royal authority and instead recalled that most ancient of bases for enslavement: capture in war. In a October 2, 1808 letter to several of his subordinates, Ferrand explicitly stated that captives taken from Haiti in battle would legally belong to their captors.⁴³

Though the Ferrand regime built on precedents from both the *ancien régime* and the revolutionary era, the overthrow of slavery and colonialism in Haiti had transformed the geopolitical terrain. The rulers of Napoleonic Santo Domingo felt compelled to react to the presence of Haiti, fusing the alleged external threat of “rebel” armies with internal concerns in a way that bears more than a passing resemblance to early Haitian leaders’ resort to forced labor on the grounds of the threat of a French invasion. As Rebecca Schloss has observed, the transformation of French Saint-Domingue into independent Haiti exacerbated the tendencies of French authorities on both sides of the Atlantic to associate non-whites with criminality and subversion, which they manifested in acute fears that “a network of *gens de couleur* roaming the Atlantic would incite rebellion and bring the downfall of France’s remaining West Indian colonies” (Schloss 2009:35).⁴⁴ These developments transpired during a decade that was marked by both dramatic challenges to enslavement and human trafficking in some areas and the retrenchment of these practices in others.

42. Ferrand to Peralta, 17 Brumaire an 13 (8 November 1804), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

43. Ferrand to “Commandants” and “Notables” in Santo Domingo, 2 October 1808, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/45.

44. Emphasis in original. “*Gens de couleur*” was a common term in the French overseas colonies that translates to “people of color.” Alleged connections between Haiti’s civil strife and non-whites in neighboring slaveholding colonies provoked anxiety among many authorities. According to one report to the Minister of the Navy composed in January 1806, many “people of color” in Santiago de Cuba (the site of a large French refugee community) had collected five to six thousand *gourdes* that were to be given to the faction that opposed Dessalines in Haiti’s internal conflict. This caused the report’s author to suspect the existence of a “secret mission, on the part of the mulattos” in France and to urge a “redoubling of surveillance and of precautions” against them even as he admitted that “no proof” existed to substantiate his allegations. Letter to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, January 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42.

SANTO DOMINGO IN CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN CIRCUITS OF CAPTIVITY

When a group of ex-slaves declared Haitian independence in 1804, they offered a new vision of a New World society without slavery.⁴⁵ Three years later, the British prohibition of its Atlantic slave trade gave new impetus to a powerful moral crusade against slavery in the Atlantic World. Nonetheless, in this same period a confluence of technological breakthroughs, policy shifts, the collapse of Saint-Domingue's plantation complex, and other factors gave rise to the resurgence of plantation slavery in Cuba, Louisiana, and Brazil, a phenomenon that Dale Tomich (2004:56) has termed the "second slavery."

Though Santo Domingo was never as integral in the transatlantic slave trades as Charleston, Havana, or pre-revolutionary Le Cap, it was a central battleground in struggles over the terms of bondage and liberty – and over the viability of free or slave status across imperial and colonial boundaries – in the decade to 1810. Santo Domingo's longstanding political links to Cuba and Puerto Rico had facilitated illegal slaving between these places during the emancipation period, and following the *Berceau* incident in the fall of 1802, Santo Domingo became even more implicated in far-reaching circuits of captivity that blurred the line between slavery and freedom.⁴⁶ In his trading of Haitian captives to places with long-established slave-based economies such as rice-producing South Carolina and in his sales of captives from slaving vessels that shipwrecked on Santo Domingo's coasts, Ferrand participated in networks of captive trading that operated on the margins of the law.

Ferrand's shocking order to Ruiz, commanding him to execute male Haitians over fourteen, attests to a dilemma that he shared with many other authorities in the Americas: the wish to accrue profit by maximizing the size of the servile labor force, counterbalanced against the fear of an uprising. Largely cut off from sources of servile labor outside the island, Ferrand resorted to trafficking in Haitians – while trying to eliminate those whose knowledge of freedom and warfare might pose a threat. Hence the chilling focus on the seizing of children.

Ferrand also sought to export some of these captives to South Carolina in exchange for slave-produced rice, as a means by which to pass on some of his risk to his North American counterparts while tapping into one of the

45. Though this vision appealed to many slaves and free individuals of color in the Americas, Haiti's practical influence in undermining slavery elsewhere was quite limited. For discussions of these matters, see Geggus 2007 and González-Ripoll *et al.* 2004. On the role of independent Haiti in early nineteenth-century legal and political debates over slavery, see Ferrer 2012.

46. On migration from Santo Domingo to Cuba following the 1795 cession, see Deive 1989.

most important plantation economies in the antebellum United States.⁴⁷ In a December 4, 1804 letter to the Superior Council of Santiago, Ferrand related that a ship that he had deployed to Charleston, South Carolina containing a number of “black Brigands” had recently returned to Santo Domingo with a quantity of rice obtained in exchange for the captives. Ferrand estimated his revenue at 1,000 to 1,200 *gourdes*.⁴⁸

Despite this trade, the cash-strapped Ferrand government lacked adequate sources of revenue, and it relied to a considerable degree on the proceeds of ship captures to finance its administrative and military costs, justifying many interceptions on the high seas as retaliation for foreigners’ alleged trading with Haiti.⁴⁹ If these ships contained captives who could be sold for the profit of the state, then so much the better. The records of the board that Ferrand entrusted with adjudicating ship capture cases, known as the “Commission des Prises de Santo Domingo” (Santo Domingo [Ship] Captures Commission), contain details on the sale of “slaves” procured from the seizures of vessels that straddled the thin line between legal and illegal trafficking. On February 9, 1804, the ironically named *Good Hope*, a slave-trading vessel with a largely British crew and British captain sailing under the Danish flag, shipwrecked near the Dominican town of Higüey. According to the Commission’s records, the ship stopped at St. Croix, where the captain claimed to have lived for six years, and then proceeded to sail first to Havana and subsequently to Santo Domingo. This captain’s luck finally ran out in the latter locale, as the March 18, 1804 judgment of the *Commission des Prises* mandated the confiscation of all of the ship’s purported cargo – including its 185 “Blacks” – and these captives’ sale for a total of 81,400 francs.⁵⁰

Following the abolition of the British Atlantic slave trade by a March 25, 1807 Act of Parliament, attempts to ferret out secretive slaving vessels sailing under foreign flags gave rise to a complex military and juridical infrastructure. For instance, the British and the signatories to their anti-slaving

47. For details on the rice economy in antebellum South Carolina and Georgia, see Carney 1996 and 2001.

48. Ferrand to Members of the Superior Council of Santiago (Santo Domingo), 13 Frimaire an 13 (4 December 1804), CARAN Colonies CC/9a/40.

49. According to General Kerverseau in a 23 March 1804 letter to the Minister of the Navy, “[t]he financial resources of that part [Santo Domingo] are reduced today to captures made by the Corsairs; for in the absolute stagnation of commerce, the products of customs are almost nothing, and in this part’s current State of depopulation, it is necessary to count as almost nothing that of the national domains.” In this same letter, Kerverseau stated that North American, British, and Danish “agents of Commerce” had established themselves in Les Cayes and Jacmel, Haiti. Kerverseau to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, 23 March 1804, ANOM CMSM F3 283.

50. “State of Affairs in which the articles came from Santo Domingo, that are subject to observation,” undated, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/48.

treaties such as Brazil set up "mixed commissions" that adjudicated cases involving the capture of suspected slavers.⁵¹ While the *raison d'être* of the *Commission des Prises* may at first appear to have been quite distinct from that of these "mixed commissions," telling similarities existed between the two bodies. The decisions of both could accrue revenue for state authorities by exploiting the labor of captives, whether labeled "slaves," "liberated Africans," or something else.⁵²

Those who sought to eliminate slaving in the Napoleonic-era Caribbean faced several formidable challenges, including the difficulties of policing the seemingly innumerable ships that plied circum-Caribbean and Atlantic routes and the willingness of governments such as that of post-1807 Britain to condone and even perpetrate captive trading under new guises. Whatever their legal status may have previously been, these *Good Hope* captives found themselves sold into something closely resembling slavery in processes that combined the use of force with legal and bureaucratic procedures that re-created slavery in the written record as well as on the slave ship. On December 8, 1806, a *négociant* from St. Thomas named H. Abendanon sold to another *négociant* resident in Santo Domingo city named Payra Ferry 187 "new blacks" (*nègres nouveaux*) who had been sold in a public auction of captives from the *Good Hope*, which was listed as having been shipwrecked in Higüey and captained by a "Biscoe."⁵³ Furthermore, on September 4, 1808, the merchant Mauger sold a seventeen-year-old African-born boy named L'Éveillé to another merchant named René Pichaud. L'Éveillé was noted as having come into the seller's possession by purchase in a public sale in Samaná of items that had come from the capture of the Danish ship *Only Son*.⁵⁴

Officials charged with resolving these slaving cases often responded to geopolitical concerns in their decision-making, as the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars had made colonial rivalries even more salient. In the year before the British and North American abolitions of their respective Atlantic slave trades, an incident involving a slave-trading ship called the *Joseph* illustrated how shifting geopolitical winds could affect the lives of those held in servitude. In an April 8, 1806 letter to the Minister of the Navy, Ferrand, recounted the story of the *Joseph*, a vessel that was "evidently English" but sailed under the Swedish flag. After loading its human cargo in Africa, this

51. For a recent article on the political situation between Britain and Brazil with respect to these matters, see Mamigonian 2009.

52. Beatriz Mamigonian (2009:42) argues that a principal objective of the British Colonial Office was to transport "liberated Africans" from captured slave ships (and from the British colony of Sierra Leone) to serve as indentured laborers in British West Indian colonies. On indentured labor and comparisons to slavery, see Northrup 1995 and Adderly 1996.

53. Sale of "Blacks" from H. Abendanon to Payra Ferry, 8 December 1806, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 705.

54. Sale of L'Éveillé, 4 September 1808, ANOM DPPC NOT SDOM 1302.

ship had made a stopover in St. Barthélemy, where it had switched flags. It then traveled towards Havana with its “thus disguised cargo” after having “boarded around a Hundred Blacks on another Swedish Vessel”; a French corsair called *La Fortune* captured it en route. Though the captain of the *Joseph* requested the “intervention” of Spanish authorities by virtue of being arrested in the territorial waters of Cuba, the Governor of Baracoa (Cuba) turned the case over to a French tribunal in Santo Domingo that he deemed to be the sole authority competent to judge the legality of the *Joseph*’s capture. After deliberating on the matter, the “Administrative Commission of Santo Domingo” judged this capture to be legal, basing its decision on a 1778 law stipulating that any ship with an “enemy owner” could not be considered neutral.⁵⁵

The application of this *ancien régime* statute elided the emancipation period, asserting a property right in human beings that was assumed to exist despite the uncertain legality of slavery in French Santo Domingo. While Kerverseau’s preoccupation with saving his own skin in the *Berceau* episode had stemmed from a concern to not present its captives as slaves, in the case of the *Joseph* different colonial authorities took as a given the right to hold people as property, even as they disputed specific means of exercising this supposed right. Nonetheless, the illicit itineraries of these slavers serve as an apt reminder that enslavement required the exertion of force regardless of any legal sanction. Both Ferrand and these contrabandists devised their own solutions to navigate the tensions between the force of enslavement and the law of “slavery” – a tension that had existed in the French world since at least the promulgation of the *Code Noir*.

CONCLUSION

In a report to the Minister of the Navy dated March 6, 1801, a Saint-Domingue official had condemned Toussaint Louverture’s rule as the “shame of the nation,” yet this label more aptly applies to the Napoleonic campaigns of re-enslavement.⁵⁶ Ferrand’s enterprise of seeking to place thousands of people into bondage encountered the determined opposition of “slaves” who devised novel ways of manipulating the law of “slavery” in their efforts to evade the force of re-enslavement. While some of these individuals managed to carve out relatively autonomous existences as members of religious brotherhoods or to compel authorities to enable them to change “masters,” reunite

55. Ferrand to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, 8 April 1806, CARAN Colonies CC/9a/42.

56. “Précis sent by the Government to fill in Saint Domingue the functions of Receiver General of Contributions,” to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, 15 Ventôse an 9 (6 March 1801), CARAN Colonies CC/9b/18.

with relatives, or testify as witnesses, others escaped from servitude by flight or self-purchase. Those claimed as slaves or targeted by the Ferrand regime's racist laws fought back in ways that undermined the regime's attempts to reinvent a slaveholding order in the first site of plantation slavery in the Americas. These individuals drew upon a heritage of resistance to enslavement and racial repression forged over several centuries by slaves, freed people, and free-born men and women of color from both parts of the island.

In *Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics, Sex and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution*, the literary scholar Deborah Jenson argued that many Hispaniolan slaves and freed people left numerous written traces of their thought and struggles that constitute part of a "French colonial and early postcolonial [literary] tradition by slaves and former slaves [that] offers particularly detailed accounts of *un-becoming* the legal property of another human being" (Jenson 2011:3, emphasis in original). In Napoleonic Santo Domingo, those claimed as slaves left their own traces of their defiance of Ferrand's attempts to force them to re-become the legal property of others. Though Ferrand tried to re-create slavery as a legal construction, in the written record, and as a lived reality, these "slaves" utilized the legal tools of the Napoleonic state and built on the successful struggle for freedom in independent Haiti. Santo Domingo under Ferrand ultimately represents a crucial case in the legal history of race and slavery in the Americas, as those who fought against enslavement and disenfranchisement there bequeathed powerful legacies for struggles for equality, liberty, and human dignity that continue to this day.

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GRAHAM NESSLER
Department of History
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor MI 48109, U.S.A.
<gnessler@umich.edu>

AISHA KHAN

ISLAM, VODOU, AND THE MAKING OF THE AFRO-ATLANTIC

My broadest interest in this essay is epistemological, tackling the ambiguity of categories, particularly those of identity (individual, community, regional), the multiple referents that categories engage, and the overlapping subjectivities they engender. I frame this concern with an exploration of the concept of cosmopolitanism and what I argue is its relationship with historiography and representation associated with the Caribbean and Muslims in the Americas. I explore this relationship as formed and symbolized by a number of what I see as mutually constitutive regional narratives about the Haitian Revolution's famous leader, Boukman; African and South Asian Islam; post-9/11 U.S. political debate about both Islam and Vodou/Haiti; and contemporary Caribbean intellectuals' discourse about regional identity (which includes the significance of the Revolution for the formation of a Caribbean cosmopolitan consciousness, or subjectivity). I argue that although cosmopolitanism can be a valuable discursive strategy in self-reflexive constructions of regional – Caribbean, Atlantic – identity, the concept marginalizes or elides Islam, and in the process leaves only ambiguous space for Africa (even in valorizations of Vodou), and reconfirms traditional popular (and still not altogether challenged academic) conventions that equate religious identity with ethnic group. In exploring these issues I seek new ways to hear silences and see invisibilities by reexamining how Islam is conceptualized as a world historical phenomenon, how Islam is conceptualized in Africa and in the Caribbean, and how implicit assumptions – for example, about religion – inform our analytical vocabulary.

Diverse and at times ambiguously categorized peoples have populated the Caribbean, linking the colonizing “West” of Europe with the colonized “East” of Africa and Asia. The heterogeneity of these groups, and the initial “strangerhood” (Olwig 2010:422; Mintz & Price 1992) and modernity (James 1989, Mintz 1996) that characterized their encounters and relationships gave rise to the perception, among Caribbeans and others alike, that this region is the New World's definitive symbol of cosmopolitanism, and that cosmopolitanism defines the Caribbean. The meanings and significance

of cosmopolitanism are contingent on particular moments in time and place, but scholars of the Caribbean, and Caribbean politicians, artists, and lay publics have interpreted the region as possessing for centuries cosmopolitanism's salient qualities. As Stuart Hall (2008:351) asserts, "the Caribbean is by definition cosmopolitan."

In common parlance today, a few key constituent features inform the notion of cosmopolitanism at its broadest: globalism (breadth and duration), heterogeneity (internal variation), and claims of universality (a shared consciousness, envisioned as appropriate for all). Emblematic cosmopolitanism in the Caribbean region has come in many forms and from various angles. For example, Huon Wardle's (2000:4) ethnography on cosmopolitanism in the Caribbean finds a "creolized Kant" in the Jamaican worldview. David Graeber (2008:290, 299) argues that the notion of "democracy" and "the West" itself are products of the cosmopolitan spaces or "spaces in between" found on Caribbean pirate ships. W.E.B. Du Bois's (e.g., 1974) commitment to Pan-Africanism and Pan-Asianism contributed to a vision of cosmopolitanism in the Caribbean resonant with his notion of "double consciousness" (Hall 2008:347), modernity, and mixing/creolization. Mary Waters (2001:202) has suggested that Afro-Caribbeans are "perhaps the quintessential postmodern peoples due to their engagement with capitalism, the preponderance of cultural mixing in the region's "created societies," and the importance of migration in their lives. Paul Gilroy's (1993) interest in "routes" as opposed to "roots" envisioned an emphatic modernity in the "Black Atlantic." Sidney Mintz's decades-long insights about the quintessential modernity of the Caribbean assert the region's cosmopolitanism (e.g., Baca, Khan & Palmié 2009). Stephan Palmié's work on religion and science argues for the comparability, and integration, of Caribbean and European modernities and modes of reason (Palmié 2002). Marguerite Fernandez Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert (1997:1) posit that the West increasingly looks to the Caribbean to understand its own growing "eclecticism" and "difference." And Ifeoma Nwankwo, building on Aimé Césaire (e.g. 1947) and C.L.R. James (e.g. 1989), approaches the Haitian Revolution as giving rise to "Black cosmopolitanism," or the self-definitions of personhood among peoples of African descent in the wake of the revolution as they engaged new, empowering notions of "Black community" and old, hegemonic ideologies of race (Nwankwo 2005:10-11). Stuart Hall (e.g., 2008) and C.L.R. James (e.g., 1989) also have invested in the idea of the Caribbean as a particularly cosmopolitan space (which I explore in more detail below). These wide-ranging works demonstrate the pliability of the concept of cosmopolitanism in its applications. This essay pushes its applications further, linking cosmopolitanism with other relevant categorical formations, notably, interpretations of religions in the region.

Despite historiographical and ethnographic recognition of Islam's claim to globalism, heterogeneity, universality,¹ and a "positive freedom" kind of agency (e.g., Mahmood 2005, Rapport 2006), these qualities carry a different register in the context of the New World and contemporary perspectives. The multifaceted practices and uses of Islam in the Atlantic World suggested in the historical record are not reflected in the portrait of Islam drawn in the contemporary period. Rather than foregrounding the "cosmopolitan" character of Islam, representations of the cosmopolitan Caribbean interpret Vodou, embodied in the revolutionary context of Boukman, Makandal, and their comrades, as a harbinger and indicator of cosmopolitanism. Yet these representations of Caribbean cosmopolitanism also leave an ambivalent space for Africa; in the contemporary moment, so does the representation of Caribbean Islam. The role of the idea of cosmopolitanism is a pervasive and multilayered emblem of Caribbean regional identity. As such, I argue, it has shaped the historiography and imagery associated with Muslims in the region. Looking at representations of Islam, the Caribbean, and Muslims in the Caribbean and in the United States, helps us inquire into the way cosmopolitanism both defines the Caribbean (with its emphasis on modernity and creolization) and invites an eliding of African Islam – despite Islam's being historically approached as cosmopolitan in ways not typically employed in discussions of Vodou. What is it about the configuration of the concept of cosmopolitanism in the Caribbean that has resulted in marginalizing or eliding Islam in the historical record?

Let us begin our exploration of regionally thematic Caribbean narratives with Boukman and his comrades, indispensable emblems of the making of the Afro-Atlantic. Among the most salient interpretive elements of the Haitian Revolution (even if apocryphal in historical terms) is its catalysis into action that is attributed to Boukman. At an alleged secret meeting of fellow slaves in Saint Domingue's Bois-Caiman forest on an August night in 1791, Boukman purportedly held a "voodoo ceremony," which presumably included strategizing, and, as the narrative goes, thus launched the Revolution.² Boukman is celebrated as a Haitian religious and political leader whose skill, charisma, commitment, and knowledge helped to change history and assert the dignity and authority of Vodou in the face of its detractors. This representation of Boukman – as a Haitian Vodou priest – is pervasive. However, Boukman also had a relationship with Islam.

My interest is in Boukman's relationship to Vodou and to Islam, and to his portraiture by scholars, which suggests the complexities and ambiguities characterizing both religious traditions. Boukman's being Muslim certainly is plausible, but still generates enough contention among scholars (aspects of which I take up below) to not rest quietly as historical truth. Indeed, one could

1. For example, Ghosh 1992, Harrison 2006, Ho 2004, Tharoor 2010.

2. Discussions of these events in terms of their historical likelihood are in, for example, Geggus 2002 and Geggus & Fiering 2009.

say that it constitutes a historical footnote in terms of the dearth of agreed upon information about his identity currently available. Rather than seeking to establish indubitable Muslim identities for historical figures, it is precisely because of historiographical debate that I want to engage what scholars have to say about these figures and their debatable identities, the roles these identities play in configuring the Caribbean as a subject of scholarly attention, and the implications and consequences of this attention – including ambiguities that persist.

Scholars who comment on Boukman's Muslim identity (e.g., Buck-Morss 2009, Diouf 1998) recount that he was an English-speaking Jamaican, brought to Saint Domingue by a British slaver. "Boukman," they suggest, was the French approximation of his moniker in English: "Book Man," called this because he was literate and associated with a particular book – the Quran – of which some say he owned a copy (Buck Morss 2009:141, Diouf 1998:153). These scholars infer that Boukman, therefore, was one of the "people of the book," those belonging to the Abrahamic religions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. In Africa, Sylviane Diouf (1998:152) tells us, "people of the book" was a reference to Muslims. Although only somewhere between 4 and 14 percent of all Africans who crossed the Atlantic were Muslim (Buck-Morss 2009:141), African Muslims evidently were disproportionately involved, particularly as leadership, in New World slave rebellions (Buck-Morss 2009, Reis 2001). They included the famous Haitian maroon rebel Makandal (Fick 1990:60), and Boukman's contemporary, the *manbo* (Vodou priestess) and presumed Muslim, Fatiman or Fatima (Buck-Morss 2009:141, Diouf 1998:229 n. 26, Dubois 2004:100).

Sylviane Diouf (1998:153) asserts that there is "compelling evidence" that Makandal and Boukman "were not only Muslims but also *marabouts*," an Arabic title designating a religious scholar, teacher, and religious leader. As *marabouts* they could provide both military guidance and "spiritual and occult" assurances to those in revolt (Diouf 1998:153). These specialists emerged from a seventeenth- to nineteenth-century West African context rife with reformist jihads directed toward the culling and modification of various sorts of local syncretisms. Religious syncretism and leadership skills were thus already characteristic of West African societies before being transported as part of enslaved Africans' cultural repertoire to the "New World." On both sides of the Atlantic, out of these local debates and tensions forms of leadership became increasingly visible and important. Although Africans of all ethno-linguistic and religious groups both led and participated in slave revolts, African Muslims connote a particular association with uprisings. As just one example, in Saint Domingue, Laurent Dubois (2004:56-57) tells us, a "1779 memoir presented Makandal as a 'Mohammed at the head of a thousand exiled refugees' who imagined 'the conquest of the Universe'."

Importantly, *marabouts* were also associated with the production and use of *gris-gris*, or amulets, which figured prominently in the Caribbean, in Saint

Domingue, and in the Haitian Revolution and beyond. Protection by amulet is common in both Africa and the Caribbean. These objects typically consist of small pieces of paper with Arabic writing, folded up and sewn into a small leather pouch or other receptacle that can be worn. They might also consist of other materials: as Laurent Dubois notes, one Antoine Dalmas, for example – Boukman’s contemporary in Saint Domingue and the only one to write about Bois-Caiman at the time – reported that the Bois-Caiman insurrectionists used hairs from the pig that was sacrificed as part of the religious rites as “a kind of talisman that ... would make them invulnerable” (Dubois 2004:100). As “part of the occult sciences, which include astrology, divination ... and other categories of magic” (Diouf 1998:129), amulets invoke supernatural powers in providing protection to their wearers. They are also, as Diouf (1998:129) avers, literal conveyers of writings in Arabic that communicated messages among Muslims during uprisings.³ As such, amulets may be seen as a kind of contact zone between Africans, African Muslims, and indigenous Afro-syncretic religions, drawing together, and imbricating, Islam and Vodou.

Another indication of the imbrications of Islam and Vodou is Laurent Dubois’s (2004:100) mention that those assembled at the Bois-Caiman meeting “took an oath of secrecy and revenge, sealed by drinking the blood of a black pig sacrificed before them. It was a form of pact probably derived from the traditions of West Africa.” Dubois (2004:100) tells us that the same commentator, Antoine Dalmas, “portrayed it as the ultimate expression of African barbarism.” Dalmas’s observation reveals an obvious Euro-colonial racism that from the vantage point of current scholarship is not surprising. Yet Dubois himself makes no comment about how the oath was reportedly sealed. One has to wonder what kind of Muslim, not to speak of marabout, would drink animal blood, especially that of a pig. I am not suggesting that Boukman/Book Man and his comrades could not possibly have done this – perhaps they did; it is unlikely that we will ever know for certain. What I am pointing to here is the way in which narratives of Boukman’s identity as a “Muslim” can be overshadowed by those emphasizing his identity as an “African” (e.g., the slave rebels are associated with West Africa separate from Islam), and at the same time his identity as a “Muslim” can overshadow other facets of his identity (e.g., *gris-gris* are indicative of Muslim African traditions). The way “Islam” looks and what it means, to both practitioners and observers, is vari-

3. My interest is in the connection among prevalent ideas about African Muslims, amulets, and insurrection. In terms of the issues of ambiguity and category formation, worth considering is the question of the extent to which amulet wearers were able to read Arabic, especially its translation into complex (militarily strategic) messages. Moreover, as anthropologist Allyson Purpura points out, amulets, especially those made by marabouts, are comprised of esoteric, symbolic script that is typically indecipherable even to those who do read Arabic (email communication September 26, 2010). Indo-Caribbeans also have amulet traditions, notably amulets called *tabeej*, which work to safeguard the wearer.

able, depending on a given historical moment and social context, as well as scholarly perspective. It is therefore useful to look closely at any currents of Islamic belief and practice that may have shaped hegemonic forms, as well as at the way scholars have measured the effects of those currents.

Tackling these questions of how Islam is conceived of in the world, in Africa, and in the Caribbean entails some key conceptual challenges. I will reiterate two already noted above: that “Islam” and “Vodou” are not distinguishable in terms of essence but only in terms of contingent classifications, which themselves depend on the perspectives and personages of a given moment; and that the simplification of ambiguity can produce historiographical silences, as particular aspects of phenomena are highlighted over others. A third challenge is that Muslim peoples – Africans and Asians – in the Caribbean have, respectively, four and two centuries of interaction with the West, and, on a global scale, have almost fourteen centuries of engagement with the West (dating from the 7th century A.D.). Even if not direct or immediate, articulation occurs with such quasi-knowledge as stereotypes, rumors, and misrecognitions. This raises a fourth challenge, asked in many ways in other contexts by numerous scholars, notably from the Caribbean (e.g., Rodney 1972, Williams 1964), about how “Western” (i.e., singular, autonomous) the “West” is, being so deeply dependent upon “non-Western” sources as formative influences. Dipesh Chakrabarty’s (2000) point that Third World nationalisms have participated in promulgating the idea of Europe as the apex of progress further underscores both the agency of subalterns and the dialogic relationship that exists among colonizers and colonized. As Barbara Weinstein (2005:89) points out about Latin America, and I would add the Caribbean, the “region’s long history of colonialism and contact” has given rise to “ambivalence about Western vs non-Western identity.”

Each of these challenges serves to remind us why categorical distinctions take special effort, and why, even in “contact zones,” “frontiers,” or “hybrid spaces” – all of which have been employed to characterize the Caribbean – where presumably everything is breaking up and becoming rearranged, some orthodoxies remain. Weinstein (2005:71-73) further pushes my point in her question that since the social sciences and humanities have confronted the “teleological tendencies of the master narrative of the Western/liberal tradition,” and since, as a consequence, the “instability” of the subject, along with the very meanings attributed to our terms and categories, is now given, “whose story are we telling?” In other words, by what means do we identify and pin down our subjects without giving in to either the “hyper-real”ness of the West (Chakrabarty 2000) or eschewing moral universals so forceful today? The rutted ground of hyper-realness and moral universals pertains unequivocally to the ways we, scholars and laypersons, come to “know” the Caribbean – its peoples, its essences, and its histories.

With these cautioning challenges in mind, let us continue to draw from narratives in the scholarly literature about African Muslim presence in the

Caribbean. With the exception of the studies cited here (and a few others⁴), what is known about African Muslims in the Caribbean is not abundant relative to the study of other religions, and, like all research, the reportage that does exist must be weighed in terms of perspective and accuracy. The history of the Caribbean is conventionally treated as beginning with massive labor projects involving coerced and voluntary displacements of millions of people. Although these projects were characterized by different forms of organization, success rates, and consequences, as part of the development of European capitalism and empire they can be divided into two broad ventures: slavery and indenture. Resting on the labor of enslaved peoples of West and Central Africa, Caribbean slavery is most commonly associated with Africans, as is, in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Americas, Islam. Yet as Brinsley Samaroo (1988) and Carl Campbell (1974) have argued, by the mid-nineteenth century a lively and effective African Muslim presence in the Caribbean had ebbed. Since the 1970s Afro-Caribbean Muslims have been increasing in number and have gained visibility particularly through the growth of racially mixed Muslim religious organizations and through political participation. Although there are no definitive statistics of which I am aware that document the population numbers of Muslims of African descent in the Caribbean, they remain demographically fewer than Indo-Caribbean Muslims and, although acknowledged, are less frequently symbolically associated with Islam in the region.

The number of identified Muslims who settled in the Caribbean between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries was certainly small relative to the millions of peoples in multiple diasporas; nonetheless, their presence was felt, if minimally documented, in ways that belied their numbers. For example, João José Reis states that after Brazil's abolition of slavery in 1888, "formerly enslaved Muslims could still be found as isolated practitioners of their faith" and that some of these Muslims "became well known as makers of amulets." While Reis (2001:308) observes that the making of amulets reflected "a very unorthodox Muslim way of life," he does not draw the conclusion that this unorthodoxy necessarily spelled the end of a "Muslim way of life," however that might be defined. However, beyond the significance of amulets "and the sporadic presence of Islam in the symbolic realm of Afro-Brazilian religions, mostly in fragmented form, Islam was unable to penetrate the national Afro-Brazilian community," which Reis (2001:308) states "developed a pluralistic worldview combining Catholicism and African ethnic religions." At the same time, Reis notes the influence of amulets on the world of the occult in Brazil today. Moreover, although I agree with Reis that it is wise not to overestimate presences of any kind or to imagine them where they do not exist, the notion of "fragmented" forms presumes that fragmentation is both self-evident and

4. See, for example, Khan forthcoming, Law & Lovejoy 2001, Lovejoy 2004, Singh 1988, Wood 1968.

necessarily weaker in effect. But how might that effect be measured? And given the hybrid character of Islam, as Reis describes it, both in West Africa and the Americas, would it not also be “pluralistic”? Might this perspective on orthodoxy and fragmentation reflect the premise that the pluralism of Afro-Catholicism is coherent, while the persistence of Islamic forms is fragmented?

To add to this “pluralistic” conglomeration, when slavery was abolished in the Caribbean, colonial plantocracies needed replacement labor to work the sugar plantations. In the British Caribbean’s post-emancipation era, beginning in 1838, the British colonial government operationalized a labor scheme that tied Indians – largely from Oudh, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh – to labor contracts, shipping them to Caribbean sugar plantations in British Guiana (1838) and then to Trinidad (1845), the “bound coolie” system lasting until 1917. Caribbean indenture primarily depended on these “willing” subjects in India. The Victorian tendency to treat religion as metonymic of culture and civilization meant that Hinduism and India were perceived as one, and Islam considered a phenomenon of the Middle East – an “Orient” distinct from India (e.g., Said 1979). However, all Indian indentured labor in the Caribbean were “coolies,” a colonial category for the most part identifying Hindu and Muslim together as “Indian.” “Indians” were symbolized in broad strokes: non-Christian, turbans, loincloths, and unlettered manual toil. When distinguished, they were homogenized into “Hindoo” and “Mahometan Hindoos,” or Muslims (e.g., de Verteuil 1858). Probably the most important context of their differentiation was in identifying religious rites, which colonial authority needed to control (so as not to not impede production) even as they were permitted. Colonial ideology also distinguished Indians from Africans, notably in terms of cultural “progress”: inferior to Euro-Christians, Indians in general still ranked higher than Africans on the evolutionary scale (e.g., Bolt 1971, Khan 2004). Given what appears to be Afro-Muslims’ statistically small numbers relative to others of the multi-million migrations of the Atlantic slave trade, and what was more certainly a fusion of practices and beliefs difficult to pin down as necessarily distinctly belonging to one religion or another, by the mid-nineteenth century the profile of Afro-Muslims in the Caribbean had receded, giving way to an association of Islam with Indian immigrants and their progeny.

A process of what we might call ideological homogenization occurred in this Indo-Caribbean diaspora, where the regional, linguistic, and religious diversity of Indian immigrants was reduced to a selected few identifying categories, reflecting in part the demographic majority of certain regional, linguistic, and religious forms.⁵ But the preponderance of certain forms – for example, Sunni Islam – that expressed themselves in diaspora came from the same kinds of syncretistic processes that were occurring in Africa: the overlapping of cultural forms that often made distinguishing among *kinds*

5. See, for example, Khan 2004, Vertovec 1992.

in order to produce categories an iffy business. Nevertheless, Caribbean Indians, or Indo-Caribbeans, became known to be “Hindu” or “Muslim,” “Sanatanist” and “Sunni,” respectively, with a racializing of religion such that, by the time slavery and enslaved Africans were no longer part of living memory (although alive in historical consciousness), “Muslim” in the Caribbean indicated “Indian” rather than “African.”⁶

While Islam eventually came to be seen as Indo-Caribbean, it is also worth asking why its African traces are acknowledged in such limited fashion. If fragmentation – and the syncretism, pluralism, creolization that is said to follow it – is allegedly a hallmark of the Caribbean, then why are the combinations of Christianity and African religious traditions understood to constitute a meaningful presence in the Caribbean while a kind of silencing is being produced about Caribbean Islam with the assumption that somehow its fragmentations and unorthodoxies cannot have similar outcomes? This question in turn leads to others relating to what “Muslim” is and means. The signification processes that tie “marabout” to “Muslim” in Muslim minority societies, for example, are flexible and not necessarily predictable. Carolyn Fick (1990:63) tells us that as “a legendary figure, [Makandal’s] name became identified with almost all forms of fetishism, with poisoning, sorcery, and slave dances. Thereafter, the *houngan*, or voodoo priests, were often referred to as ‘makandals’; to possess certain powers or simply to practice voodoo was to be a ‘makandal’ ... voodoo talismans were ... often referred to as ‘makandals’.” This association between ritual talismen, or amulets, and Makandal the man was undoubtedly strengthened by Makandal’s being convicted of “mingling holy things in the composition and usage of allegedly magical packets.” One of those he made included a crucifix, and Makandal invoked Allah, Jesus Christ, and God when he created them” (Dubois 2004:51). It seems there was a mutually shaping overlap among an African Muslim man’s leadership skills and commitment to fighting the system of slavery, which drew from Makandal’s Muslim worldview (already “syncretic” in Africa before ever arriving in the Caribbean); his practice of an Islam in Saint Domingue that undoubtedly took on Afro-Christian dimensions; and his broad capitalizing on the power of the sacred, spiritual, and supernatural, which inspired him as well as his fellow revolutionaries. In the loose application of the name-term *makandal* to amulets (virtually universal cross-culturally), to sorcery (a phenomenon on both sides of the Middle Passage), and to *houngans* (a role indigenous to Saint Domingue but magnetizing various kinds of elements), we lose sight of any clear discrimination between “Islam” and “Vodou.”

In his work on African Muslims in the Americas, Michael Gomez observes that in the Haitian Revolution, Muslims “made common cause with others of

6. Javanese Muslims in Suriname do not figure into the dominant portrait of Caribbean Islam. But see, for example, Hoefte 1998.

African descent,” both as “soldiers and as mallams or holy men who called upon the forces of the Islamic sciences in pursuit of their cause” (Gomez 2005:87). That said, he highlights Makandal as emerging “as the quintessential *houngan* [Vodou priest]” because he “absorbed a number of non-Muslim influences,” with “everything about [his] life point[ing] in the direction of religious synthesis” (Gomez 2005:89); thus, Makandal formed “the epicenter, along with Boukman, of folklore celebrating the ideal of the *houngan*” (Gomez 2005:89). Gomez (2005:90) bolsters his position that in this context Islam was superseded by more influential religious traditions with the observation that, as respected Vodou leaders, Boukman, Makandal, and Cecile Fatiman would have had difficulty explaining their behavior to Muslim reformers of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century West Africa. In all likelihood, Gomez posits, many of their practices would have amounted to *shirk* as interpreted by Sunni Muslims, and therefore probably not have been “the kind of legacy a Sunni or orthodox mallam would want to leave behind” (Gomez 2005:89).⁷

Moreover, even if Gomez (2005:90) implies more finality than is necessary, the implications of his assertion that “African-born bearers of Islam would be swept up (and away) by the events of 1791-1804” warrants consideration. What does that sweep entail and what might its consequences be – for Caribbean cultures and histories and, for my purposes in particular, for our knowledge of them? Gomez’s points that Muslims were too small a population, too integrated with the rest of the Saint Domingue population, and too religiously syncretic to sustain a “viable” Muslim community are well taken (Gomez 2005:87). Even if viability is a difficult and subjective calculation, however, it is certainly the case that “Muslim” in the Americas is a multidimensional category, as other scholars have shown. For example, Joan Dayan (1995) observes that many of the early African arrivals in Saint Domingue were from the kingdoms of the Congo, Angola, and Mozambique and “had been both affected by ‘Islamic propaganda’ and ‘inculcated with ideas of catholicity by the Portuguese ... around the fifteenth century’” (Dayan 1995:245, Price-Mars 1930). Early twentieth-century Haitian writer Jean Price-Mars surmised that the majority of Africans brought to Saint Domingue “were pious peoples attached simultaneously to the Muslim and Dahomean faith, and even slightly Catholic” (Price-Mars 1930:126-27; quoted in Dayan 1995:325 n. 149). The difficulty of drawing precise lines around our categories renders these issues vexed to start with, and heterogeneous populations of African Muslims in the Americas make for diverse ways of being Muslim.

What power, then, is in a name to suggest an identity, and is there necessarily an isomorphic fit between the name and the thing? What (and who) decides what the preeminent qualities of that thing are? These questions are

7. In Islam *shirk* is the association of people or things as equal to Allah – inarguably incorrect practice.

key to the ways that the relationship between Islam and Vodou – to each other, to Africa, and to the Caribbean – is construed. When discussion of Muslims in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Americas emphasizes the context of resistance (either as African Muslim leaders or rank-and-file rebels) in the cause of subverting domination with the goal of freedom, a romanticized image emerges which requires scrutiny: representations of resistance are shaped both by the perspectives that define it as such and the contexts from which resistance is said to emerge.⁸ That leaders of New World slave rebellions were often Muslims is known “but not attended to,” Buck-Morss (2009:142) observes, making the point that “highlighting their presence plants a small intellectual bomb causing the politics of Western interpretation to bifurcate almost immediately” (Buck-Morss 2009:142). Distasteful aspects of slave rebels’ behavior, she says, can be attributed to the influence of Islam; the same rebels were motivated in part by two centuries of West African jihadist reform movements, and identification, at least at some level, with being Muslim (Buck-Morss 2009:142). “The political question emerging from this historical encounter, that urgently needs to be addressed,” she asserts, is “how is it that the revered Euro-American revolutionary slogan, ‘Liberty or Death’, came to be cordoned off in Western thought and practice from the allegedly infamous tradition of Islamic jihad?” (Buck-Morss 2009:143). In other words, on what epistemological basis does a double standard such as this rest? The issue is that somehow our attachment to the idea of historical African Muslims as resistance leaders overshadows seeing African Islam in other, perhaps as salient ways. At the same time, in the West today Muslims are associated with a different sense of resistance, one with a negative valuation (terror), hence the difficulty in legitimately recognizing them.

We have seen so far that in the Caribbean (as everywhere else), religion is refractive and syncretic, and the religious identity of Boukman/Bookman and Makandal, and Muslims in general, is ambiguous, symbolized largely in terms of the Revolution’s religious-military leadership and production and use of amulets. But it is also worth asking why these Muslim aspects were so apparently rather easily diminished. One could instead emphasize the Islamic shaping of Afro-Atlantic religions, or at least caution that we can only speculate about these processes of creolization. In either case, we would need to probe our speculations – any teleological predeterminations inhering in our historical narratives – as well as revisit our analytical categories. The latter would include even “orthodoxy” itself: for example, Gomez approves of what he reads in *The Black Jacobins* as James’s “correct judgment” to “sublimate” Makandal’s Muslim background, given that “in the New World [Makandal] was no longer living life as a Muslim, or at least as an orthodox

8. Interestingly, in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries this association with resistance would be recast in predominantly negative terms as terrorism.

one” (Gomez 2005:88-89). But the very contexts of non-Muslim influences that Muslims in Saint Domingue (and in the rest of the New World) undoubtedly did absorb are precisely why such categories as “orthodoxy” require unpacking, as well as “orthodoxy”’s relation to what form(s) of “Islam.”

In tackling the tension between real people and their representation, Diouf takes a different tack from Gomez. She argues that although “Muslims were essential in the success of the Haitian Revolution,” their “role and contribution have not been acknowledged” (Diouf 1998:129). Diouf (1998:153) advises us that although Boukman “has passed down in history as a voodoo priest,” this “does not mean that he was such. Because the Muslim factor has largely been ignored, any religious leader of African origin in the Caribbean has been linked to voodoo or obeah.” Diouf offers an interestingly provocative view. Although I do not think Muslims have been deliberately expunged from the archival record, the overshadowing of Muslim “Book Man” by Vodou “Boukman” is meaningful as both an accident of history and an artifact of historiography – the two never being entirely distinct, in any case.

A key aspect of the relationship between history and historiography is what cosmopolitan societies are imagined to be, and how they produce cosmopolitan persons. Who might these people be and how do they merit being conferred this appellation? It seems to be the case that “historical” African Muslims fulfill the requirements for cosmopolitanism, in terms of ethno-linguistic heterogeneity, diversity of exposure to multiple others (in West Africa and in the Caribbean), and hybridity (in religious practice), if not explicitly in terms of the kind of modernity that most scholars of the Caribbean agree emerged there.⁹ As “historical” Africans become “contemporary” Afro-Caribbeans, however, Africa becomes a different sort of symbol in this (Caribbean) modernity. No longer having a significant association with African Muslims, “contemporary” Africa becomes a symbol of (Afro-) Caribbean indigeneity and blackness (its authenticity represented by, among other things, Vodou). Certainly in the colonial Caribbean, Euro-colonizers associated Africa with blackness, but perceptions of blackness were denigrating, largely unconnected to Europeans’ ideas about modernity except as its antithesis. In the postcolonial era, however, Caribbean intellectuals and scholars of the Caribbean saw modernity, and one of its key features, cosmopolitanism, as emerging from, and thus defining the region through, Afro-Euro articulations of one sort or another.¹⁰ In the relationship and cultural dialogue between Africans and Europeans in the Caribbean that produced the region’s special defining qualities (modernity, cosmopolitanism, creolization, diaspora), Africa was configured as either at the center or as an equal partner with Europe. But this Afro-Euro interlocation did not

9. For example, James 1989, Mintz 1996, Palmié 2002, Scott 2004.

10. “Postcolonial era” here indicates the turn of the twentieth century, prior to Caribbean countries’ independence, and into the present, post-independence era.

meaningfully involve Islam. This would not have been an automatically logical move, in any case, given Islam's compartmentalization into the historical envelope of slavery and its forms of resistance, and its particularization as an Indo-Caribbean phenomenon. That is, as long as Islam's principal connotations were certain forms of resistance in the context of slavery, it was both compartmentalized and particularized – occupying a certain conceptual space and possessing certain definitive features.

The meaning and significance of “cosmopolitanism” reflect different moments in time. Among its most basic distinctions is the contingent symbolism of hope and promise, as opposed to caution and doubt, that the concept carries. Cosmopolitanism, Magdalena Nowicka and Maria Rovisco (2009:1) explain, “remains largely a prescriptive concept concerning the development of a new world order or a descriptive concept that enables one to label and distinguish between cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans.” I find this a useful differentiation although I would suggest that the concept is necessarily simultaneously prescriptive and descriptive rather than one or the other. It prescribes the should's and describes the is's, but the latter are putative, given the tricky relationship between is and ought to be. Imbued with utopian connotations and “an unpleasant posture of superiority” (Appiah 2006:xiii), cosmopolitanism “is really the latest phase of capitalist modernity operating on a global scale” (Hall 2008:346). Contemporary globalization, Stuart Hall observes, produces two kinds of cosmopolitanism, one from “above,” associated with circuits of global investment and capital, and the global entrepreneurs who follow them, and the other from “below,” the “vernacular cosmopolitanisms” that comprise those who are “obliged to uproot themselves from home, place and family” (Hall 2008:346). The latter populations form culturally variegated new settlements whose way of life and forms of consciousness are “diasporic” and whose “diasporic dilemma” is a question of identity – how is the sense of self understood when one's lived reality is movement among places, histories, cultures, religions (Hall 2008:347)? Hall sees this existential conundrum as “inevitably the site of what Du Bois called ‘double consciousness’” (Hall 2008:347). These discussions suggest that we look at cosmopolitanism as a way of being in the world that reflects the lived experience of unequal relations of power, and as a way of thinking about the world that reflects the moral aspiration to level those inequalities through dreams and deeds.

Contemporary predominant versions of cosmopolitanism privilege tolerance and diversity. The recent revival of scholarly interest in cosmopolitanism of which Nowicka and Rovisco (2009) speak may be related to its new twenty-first-century incarnation, which particularly emphasizes “empathy, toleration and respect for other cultures and values” and “reaching out across cultural differences through dialogue” (Werbner 2008:2), and which, as social theory, battles “the politics of disillusionment” (Fine 2007:xvi). Upon closer inspection of any given position, however, we are reminded that each is linked

to a particular vantage point, a reflexivity that slants interpretation. In the current zeitgeist, deployment of the concept of cosmopolitanism – a way of being in and thinking about the world – can result in some interesting judgments of both Islam and Vodou. In the examples below, Islam (ostensibly extracted from specific locations) retains its profile as beneficial in some distant historical past and is negated in the current moment as malevolent. Vodou, here now an explicit foil rather than an ambiguous companion of Islam, retains its popular image as historically murky and contemporarily malevolent, but the latter more in the sense of self-destructive rather than harmful outside itself (read: harmful to us-U.S.). When looked at through the contemporary Western real-politik lens of cosmopolitanism, Islam is seen as malevolent to others, Vodou as malevolent to its own people. Hence the concept of cosmopolitanism is as much a projection of its purveyors as it is a complex of features identifiable in certain contexts and populations. In other words, “cosmopolitanism” is a conditional category, not a categorical condition.

The question of how societies shape people, how people respond and in turn shape their social milieus, and the kinds of characterizations that emerge about those societies and their members has become of late far more freighted than solely an academic question, given the “enemy within,” “sleeper cell,” and “anchor baby” narratives familiar in the current moment of scrutinizing the relationship between Islam and the West. Reference to Muslims is not necessarily any less pointed when emerging from untypical comparisons with unlikely others. We can see these characterizations of self-destructiveness and malevolence in interpretations of recent events. A couple of years ago *New York Times* op-ed columnist David Brooks¹¹ joined numerous other so-called pundits in trying to explain the degree of destruction of Haiti’s January 12, 2010 earthquake. In his brief essay, “The Underlying Tragedy,” Brooks stated that this tragedy signaled the time to “rethink our approach to global poverty,” which requires acknowledging “a few difficult truths” – the underlying causes of the devastation. The third of his “truths” caused something of a firestorm in the popular media. “It is time,” he said, “to put the thorny issue of culture at the center of efforts to tackle global poverty. Why is Haiti so poor?” Comparing Haiti unfavorably with Barbados and the Dominican Republic – which Brooks views as analogous to each other, mentioning variables he finds sufficient bases for comparison (“history of oppression, slavery and colonialism”) – he relies on Lawrence Harrison’s (2006) exposition on Truth for an explanation.

In his polemic, *The Central Liberal Truth*, Harrison’s (2006:87) analytical lens is trained on “culture,” treating religion as its principal explanatory device: “some religions do better than others in promoting the goals of demo-

11. David Brooks, The Underlying Tragedy, *The New York Times*, January 14, 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/opinion/15brooks.html?scp=1&sq=&st=nyt>.

cratic politics, social justice, and prosperity.” An example of “a religion that is highly resistant to progress [is] Voodoo, the dominant religion of Haiti and a surrogate for the many animist religions of Africa, the birthplace of Voodoo ... It ... has made a major contribution to the sociopolitical pathology [of Haiti]” (Harrison 2006:87). My interest here is not in rebutting Harrison but in underscoring his all-too-common invocation of democracy, justice, prosperity, and progress as a kind of expansive vision of charitable optimism, a universal form of consciousness and sense of self that contrasts with the alleged myopia and taciturnity of inward-looking and amoral/immoral – failed – Haiti. In stark contrast to scholars of the Caribbean, Vodou for Harrison seems simply beyond redemption. In Harrison’s portrait, Haitians implicitly are not cosmopolitans; if they were, they could have reasonable expectations to become modernized and cease being “progress-resistant” (Harrison 2006:119). In Harrison’s portrait, as well, Vodou’s various inadequacies make impossible his teleological goals of Western (read: American) democracy.

Interestingly, Harrison has a somewhat more generous appraisal of Islam. Although “Islam has fallen far behind the Western religions and Confucianism in virtually all respects,” and the data for Islamic countries “reveal a strong resistance to modernization,” these disappointments are “in striking contrast to the vanguard role of Islam during its first several centuries” (Harrison 2006:96). Over the course of time, unfortunately, the world witnessed “Islam’s transformation from progress prone to progress resistant” (Harrison 2006:119). In charting Islam’s alleged devolution, Harrison alludes to aspects often equated with cosmopolitan qualities, notably exposure to diverse others and duration over time. Harrison’s judgment of Islam’s “falling behind” its own early precociousness is, implicitly, a nod to its longevity.¹² Of course, Islam’s historical “vanguard role” has been lost or negated in much of today’s discourse in the West, with its focus on terror. Yet even in this, the cosmopolitan is sought, perhaps to rescue what was vanguard, and certainly to seek a rapprochement between “East” and “West” – notably with “Easterners” in the “West.” The issue I am underscoring here is not whether certain “acceptable” and “tolerant” Muslims (descriptors which have appeared in the media) are really cosmopolitans or not. Rather, the issue is the language (which forms the discourse) that is being used: the acid test is Western values and priorities, not, for example, Islamic ones – which may (or may not) be different.

Equally significant for understanding cosmopolitanism, however, is the “new cosmopolitanism’s” interrogation of the very premises of this concept, its twin pillars of universalism and modernity. This interrogation rests on what Hall (2008:349) calls “the paradox at the heart of the Enlightenment –

12. See, for example, Ishaan Tharoor, Islamophobia and the “Ground Zero Mosque” Debate, *Time Magazine*, August 7, 2010. <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2009147,00.html>.

the particularism of its conception of universality.” That is, the Enlightenment (Kantian) version of cosmopolitanism represented itself as universal, but that universality was yoked to the West, never coming to terms with being embedded in a specific historical moment and intellectual tradition. This tradition assumed the West as the ones “whose civilizational duty and burden it was to enlighten ... the unenlightened, the non-cosmopolitan” (Hall 2008:349). In a sense, the universal is always vernacular and thus always ultimately slanted toward the self-serving in some fashion. To borrow from Renato Rosaldo’s (1989:217) notion of “useful fictions,” “the West” itself is a useful fiction rather than a self-evident source. However, for the Caribbean intellectuals and activists who have interpreted the Caribbean as being “by definition cosmopolitan,” these definitions have particular objectives, and consequences, that do not necessarily look askance at Enlightenment thinking as itself representing “fictions.”

While those to whom I now turn were anything but naïve or superficial in their reflections, critiques, and aspirations, the hope and self-identification they had for cosmopolitanism, as they understood it, produced certain characterizations of Caribbean (or Atlantic World) identity whose universalist visions both transcended African particularities (like religious traditions, ethno-linguistic groups, and such) and yet drew upon symbolic Africas as part of the cosmopolitan equation. These visions gave voice to some and may have (inadvertently) silenced others. Despite contributing to the historically cosmopolitan Caribbean, African Muslims do not stand out in conceptualizations of the contemporary cosmopolitan Caribbean; their Muslimness recedes into their Africanness (their race), and Africa itself does symbolic work that does not require (or is even hindered by) being particularized. In the Afro-Euro dialogue that constitutes cosmopolitanism, Indo-Caribbeans – who in the contemporary moment largely signify Caribbean Islam – find no place, their Indianness receding into their Muslimness (their religion). And in connection with their Indianness, Indo-Caribbeans’ Muslimness is not construed as possessing cosmopolitan attributes, or those attributes make no contribution to the cosmopolitan character of the Caribbean.

In the Americas, a post-Enlightenment place and peoples filtered through Enlightenment valuations, the concept of cosmopolitanism took on an emphasis on modernity, a quality (i.e., a state of mind, a capability of agency) that was not of great concern to sixteenth-century commentators, much less to earlier ones. Ideas about Caribbean cosmopolitanism tend to be organized in ways that elide or overlook Islam – in part because Africa’s symbolic importance often supersedes (and otherwise is equal to) its being a site of particular histories and cultures. Cosmopolitanism in the Caribbean is characterized by certain features that have long been fundamental to the ways peoples of the region have understood themselves, and have been understood by others, in relation to being modern. Among the most important of those who

linked the Caribbean to a cosmopolitan argot is Trinidadian intellectual and activist C.L.R. James. Counting James along with Martinicans Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon as among the Caribbean's greatest thinkers, Edward Said (1989:224) argued that they represented a "model for the postimperial world [that] depended on the idea of a collective as well as plural destiny for mankind, Western and non-Western alike." Said's statement is both a point of fact about shared birthplace and a symbolic association between the Caribbean and the concept of cosmopolitanism.

James was involved with Pan-Africanism (the revival of the movement in London) and in the Trotskyite movement (Hall 1992:7-10), projects whose internationalist agendas and universalist visions are inherent to them. In *The Black Jacobins*, James's (1989:391) embrace of cosmopolitanism is lyrical and unequivocal. "West Indians," he says, "first became aware of themselves as a people in the Haitian Revolution." This sense of self, or self-consciousness, emerged from struggles involving justice, rights, and progress, and also, not unrelatedly, from the condition of modernity that James saw as characterizing the Caribbean. Arguing that the pattern of life wrought by the slave plantation system was "*sui generis*, with no parallel anywhere else," and not native in any sense (James 1989:392), James's Caribbean was not European, African, or (North) American, but "original" (James 1989:391). At the same time, on the one hand, "the African had to adapt what he brought with him to the particular circumstances which he found in his environment," where his "philosophy and religion proved to be a combination of what he brought with him and what his new masters sought to impose on him" (James 1984:21); on the other hand, Caribbean people were "cut off from all contact with Africa for a century and a quarter," presenting "today the extraordinary spectacle of a people who, in language and social custom, religion, education, and outlook, are essentially Western and, indeed, far more advanced in Western culture than many a European community" (James 1977:25; quoted in Henry & Buhle 1992:x-xi). As Paget Henry and Paul Buhle (1992:xi) aptly note, what predominates in James's work are not icons of exile and dispossession but rather "people actively appropriating the modern possibilities left them by a heritage of Westernization."

Deriving from the Caribbean's plantation mode of production, the modernity of which James spoke has a Janus-faced aspect. The enslaved Africans entered into a large-scale agricultural system that was modern in its industrialization and in its social relationships, which James (1989:392) saw as requiring a closeness far beyond "any proletariat of the time." He sums up, "The Negroes, therefore, from the very start lived a life that was in its essence a modern life" (James 1989:392). It thus was both the "most civilizing" and the "most demoralising" influence in West Indian development (James 1989:392). James felt that the Caribbean's link to European civilization gave the region a special advantage. Although part of the Third World, the Caribbean had been

“universalized” by European influence; and the region’s great figures must, James felt, be viewed as part of the great metropolitan tradition, not simply as regionally important (Lamming 1992:33). Darrell Levi (1991:489) clarifies the distinction James made between Western traditions and Western imperialism: the former he admired, the latter he decried. In his admiring view, “the African” symbolizes a place of origin but, in being the crucible of Westernization, represents a successful and admirable Westerner; he/she is a creolized persona who certainly has identifiable and specific cultural, ethnic, and linguistic features, but these features are the raw material from which cooked (creole) cultural forms are produced. Muslims do not seem particularly relevant to James; as we saw in Gomez’s (2005:88-89) remark, James “sublimated” Makandal’s Muslim background. This could mean anything from “redirected” to “expurgated,” but the point is that for James, Vodou/Afro-Atlantic religions are perhaps clearer symbols of Africa in the Caribbean.

Where James found “Africa” in the Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean intellectuals from the late 1960s on tended to emphasize what was perceived as the dearth of living ancestral traditions as a source of alienation; others saw the absence of ancestral traditions as only amounting to cultural mimicry and thus a source of weakness (Look Lai 1992:180). Although not a feature of James’s work (which emphasized potency and vitality), the abiding themes of deficiency and regeneration that accompany discourses of exile and dispossession are nonetheless characteristic of Caribbean reflexivity. Among scholars and Caribbean intellectuals, the tropes of deficiency and regeneration are expressed in the theoretical perspectives, or problematics, commonly known as “the absence of ruins” and “creolization.” While both James and later Caribbean intellectuals looked to Africa, they did so for different reasons. These perspectives have been significant in shaping Caribbean discourses seeking to present the region in terms of certain histories, agents, cultures, and forms of authenticity. These forms of authenticity revolve around an originary moment emerging from an Afro-Euro axis, a foundation to which Indo-Caribbeans are not perceived to belong, except as subsequent historical-cultural additions.

Toward the end of his recent novel, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, Junot Diaz (2007:258-59) writes about “the power of the *Untilles*,” the “amnesia that was so common throughout the Islands, five parts denial, five parts negative hallucination” (my italics). In this brief characterization of the Caribbean, Diaz captures the essence of much of contemporary scholarship’s investment in history, memory, and consciousness in the Caribbean, an investment that has marked the Caribbean as a particular kind of place in the world – where the “true history of the New World,” as Derek Walcott (1974:4) sees it, is “amnesia” and where the Caribbean is a “shipwreck of fragments” (Walcott 1993) where being West Indian means living “in a state of utter pastlessness” (Patterson 1982:258), characterized, in Orlando Patterson’s lyrical estimation, by an “absence of ruins.” And then of course there is V.S. Naipaul’s famously

contemptuous charge that nothing was ever created in the Caribbean. It is noteworthy that these sentiments come from literary figures rather than social scientists (or activist intellectuals like James), who have spent entire careers pursuing counternarratives about Caribbean history, memory, and consciousness – from Melville Herskovits's (e.g., 1958) empirical search for African "survivals" in the Americas to Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (1995) interest in the unequal relations of power that both imagine and silence the past. Fundamentally at issue here are decades of debates about the region's culture, quantity and quality: how much was allegedly lost by diasporic populations in the Americas, what of the remaining "fragments" was salvaged, and what is the value to each group of their cultural remnants in being counted as present in the region.

Because Caribbean fragments, as the thinking goes, have phoenix-like regenerative possibilities to create new forms, a companionate trope of Caribbean studies attempts to capture these creations. This is the concept of "creolization," which works in interesting tension with the "absence of ruins." Where ruins represent a loss of Culture (and where Culture is the medium of history and the circumstance of consciousness), creolization represents the surfeit of cultures, heterogeneous groups in ongoing encounters. This diversity tends to be spoken of in the abstract, as broad references to different ethno-linguistic and racial groups, which are in turn identified with certain religions. As the demographic majority in the region, Afro-Caribbeans are differentiated according to Old World ethno-linguistic group history (e.g., Hausa, Yoruba) and culturally authenticated by scholars according to the "creolized" or "syncretic" religions that they brought to, and elaborated in, the New World (e.g., Vodou, Candomblé). Islam among these populations was also "creolized" (and, indeed, was never "pure" to begin with) and in some cases was folded into other religious traditions. However, while there is no necessary reason why Islam cannot represent Afro-Caribbeanness (symbolization being a matter of social construction rather than dependent on, say, statistical data), Islam becomes a defining, and culturally authenticating feature of the region only among a subsequent diaspora – Indians from the subcontinent.

As Hall (2008:350) aptly notes, the idea (and practice) of universalism does not work when viewed as a state of being, but only in terms of a "constantly shifting horizon towards that point where ... our history ends, and another history begins"; in this overlap, aspects of difference will remain on all sides, reminders that subject position self-sufficiency is impossible, fully defined only by what is left out or excluded – "its constitutive outside" (Hall 2008:350). It would seem, then, that the Caribbean/cosmopolitan self is ever an incomplete one, necessarily both in reality and in perception of that reality. Not only is the idea of essence a matter of ideology, but this ideology is freighted with Enlightenment-based aspirations to rethink humanity in terms of individuals who are free of the burdens of tradition, thus becoming open to modernity. This aspect of what Hall (2008:353) sees as "liberalism" reveals

its own fatal flaw: it has “never understood its own culture”; that is, there is no such possibility as a neutral, liberated ground of a-cultural existence. Thus essences become invented, “useful fictions” (Rosaldo 1989) in discourses that disallow movement (of encultured bodies, of cultural imaginaries) as loss, as ruins’ absence. And multiplicity can become a substitute for absence (many rather than none), still posing the question of *which* many, representing *what*, and to *what end*?

The Caribbean, as Hall (2008:351) summarizes, is “by definition cosmopolitan,” this quality partially residing in the fact of its original inhabitants no longer existing and everyone there coming from somewhere else. These “true diasporic” societies produce a sort of “natural cosmopolitan” individual by virtue of movement, the movement of bodies across space. But another form of movement is also key in Hall’s logic. The movement of bodies across space results in diverse cultures engaged with each other in new and different ways. What is really indigenous today in the Caribbean is creolization, “the cultural mix of different elements” that constitutes “a kind of cosmopolitanism at home,” where the predominant African presence exists in translation with other cultural elements (i.e., peoples with other cultural heritages). At heart the issue is not about what is African but what “Africa” has become in the New World. Hall goes on to query how one can remain at home and be a cosmopolitan. Despite its difficulty, he says, this is possible “if you understand your history as always a history of movement, migration, conquest, translation, if you don’t have some originary conception of your own culture as really, always the same ... you could become a cosmopolitan at home” (Hall 2008:351-52). Thus it seems that the cosmopolitan Caribbean person necessarily has a history of movement, translation, and dialogue with alterity, and a history of self-reflexive thinking about that movement (a consciousness), shaping the formation of regional and personal identity. Yet historical Caribbean Muslims, Africans whose cultural heterogeneity and religious hybridity could lend them such congruence with “cosmopolitanism,” are figures who morph into contemporary Caribbean Muslims, Indians (despite the presence and, in some cases, visibility of Afro-Caribbean Muslim peers) whose putative cultural homogeneity and religious monochromatism apparently render them incongruent with “cosmopolitanism.”¹³

13. Referring to the post-1960s United States, Vijay Prashad (2000:68) observes that: “Within the framework of New Age orientalism, the Indian is seen as intensely spiritual and apolitical, as noble but silent, as knowledgeable but not cosmopolitan.” Indo-Caribbeans historically have not been equated with being spiritual or noble in the sense that Prashad means (they are too grassroots for that), or with being apolitical or silent (there is too much identity politics in the Caribbean for that), or as being knowledgeable in the sense of possessing lofty intellect (instead, allegedly possessing a crafty shrewdness). Still interesting is that a non- or un-cosmopolitan feature applies to Indo-Caribbeans as it does to their *desi* cousins in the United States.

When associated with African history in the Caribbean, Islam is superseded by racial identification and by the authenticating, syncretic religions that are attached to that race. As the logic continues, Islam may contribute to the cosmopolitanism of worldly and diverse African groups in the Caribbean seeking redress and justice on the basis of an encompassing definition of exploitation (as opposed, for example, to idiosyncratic actions) but it cannot represent the Afro-Caribbean. Book Man becomes Boukman. I am not arguing that Indian indentured laborers under the colonial gaze were considered more “cosmopolitan” than Africans (although they were generally ranked higher in colonial cultural evolutionary models), but I am suggesting that an implicit assumption is that as Islam is creolized, so to speak, out of Africans in the Caribbean, they emerge generations later as, in Hall’s notion, cosmopolitans at home (Hall 2008). I am also not suggesting that scholars and other observers have made any explicit or deliberate elisions to effect a silencing of Islam and its contribution to cosmopolitan identity in the Caribbean – indeed, as we have seen, Muslims’ anything but parochial attributes are part of historians’ and other scholars’ discussions. In relation to the Afro-Atlantic, cosmopolitan Islam adds to the overall cosmopolitan character of the Caribbean, but this contribution is in specific ways whose possibilities have not been sufficiently explored much beyond Muslims constituting part of the region’s early history and its emblematic contemporary diversity. A different image of Islam, one that supersedes race as a symbol of a group, represents Indo-Caribbeans. But this form of cosmopolitanism seems not to come out of, or be in tandem with, the modernity that defines the region and that the region defines. In contrast to Boukman’s Islam (which overshadows Book Man’s Islam), Indian Islam is seen by Indo-Caribbean Muslims and others as (ideally) stable and conservative.

For James, what matters most is a Pan-African and, in a sense, non-specific, African influence, along with Enlightened modernity. For absence of ruins proponents, the past is at best murky and haphazard, which precludes an enduring Muslim reference point. For such thinkers as Hall, what is most significant is the modern African/Afro-Caribbean diaspora, not the Islamic past. Individual Caribbean actors produce and exchange specific, and visionary, cosmopolitan thoughts, while ordinary Caribbean communities possess a kind of collective consciousness that reveals a particular, shared – diasporic – experience. While those outside the Caribbean might look to Islam as a potential partner in cosmopolitanism, in the Caribbean itself it remains outside of cosmopolitanism, something apart from the creolizing energy that defines the region.

Despite, or because of creolization, cosmopolitanism still seeks authenticity, even though it purports to transcend the limitations of borders. Vodou (and other Afro-Atlantic religions) provides the authenticity sought for the Caribbean, which can redress the “ruins” argument. Vodou represents Africans’ essence and thus is able to symbolize Africa in the Caribbean; Vodou (and other Afro-Atlantic religions) is more habitually characterized as “syncretic”

or “hybrid” than is Islam, which is more often treated (implicitly or otherwise), when associated with Indo-Caribbeans, as more predictable, more stable, less in flux. The “hybridity” of the Islam of Africans in the Caribbean did not help it to remain steadfast; in a sense, it was malleable enough to disappear. The “hybridity” of Vodou has somehow maintained its integrity as a recognizable thing. Islam interpreted as “stable” belongs to another component of Caribbean diversity, Indo-Caribbeans, iconic of the region in a different sense than Afro-Caribbeans of any religious connotation. Despite its acknowledgement as being part of Africans’ historical routes to the region, Islam is typically associated with Caribbean peoples other than Africans – mid-nineteenth- and twentieth-century South Asian indentured immigrants – which also contributes to Islam’s often not being sought to exemplify (confirm) the region’s historical roots. While the Caribbean may be aptly characterized as “cosmopolitan,” the latter is a concept, not a condition; hence we need to be clear about: (1) why we desire to envision the Caribbean in that particular way, since everything is in some sense a construction (e.g., Hacking 1999, Trouillot 1995), and (2) the limitations of that image, for example in relation to Muslim identity and its historical and cultural significance to the region.

The deep and long-standing roots of Islam in Africa are indisputable. At the same time, it is the encounter between Africa and Europe that is seen as shaping the Caribbean, but Islam is not seen as inherently African. I have suggested that we inquire into the kinds of premises and perhaps unnoticed essentialisms that go into what both “Muslim” and “African” mean in the Caribbean, and how these premises and essentialisms have contributed to erasures in the history of Islam in the Caribbean. By erasures I mean an absence of certain themes. Muslims do appear in scholarly accounts of Caribbean history, particularly in the earlier periods; their role tends to be emphasized as one of heroic resistance, notably as leaders. One challenge is recovering the multiple ways (historical, cultural) that Africans are “Muslim” and Muslims “African.” Another challenge is establishing who “Muslims” were. Thus we remain with the richly abiding question: Who indeed was Boukman?

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AISHA KHAN
 Department of Anthropology
 New York University
 <ak105@nyu.edu>

ALEXANDER ROCKLIN

IMAGINING RELIGIONS IN A TRINIDAD VILLAGE:
THE AFRICANITY OF THE SPIRITUAL BAPTIST MOVEMENT
AND THE POLITICS OF COMPARING RELIGIONS

Involved stuff, this, with so many different strands tangled into it that
one almost despairs of getting it straightened out.

Melville Herskovits, "Trinidad Field Trip Diary," July 28, 1939¹

The question of "origins" is always a politically fraught one.² Looking through the historical evidence available it is unclear where and how Trinidad's Spiritual Baptists emerged as a religious movement, the evidence being particularly inconclusive before the "Shouters" were outlawed in 1917. Though they are now recognized as a religion, it was not always so, since the question of whether or not their practices counted as "religion" was tied up with the question of their legal status and their very recognition and formation as a "religion" (as the colonial regime understood that). The question of the Africinity of Spiritual Baptist practice, while it, too, may now seem to be self-evident

1. The Herskovits papers are held at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. The materials related to the Trinidad trip are contained in boxes 15 through 17. Box 15 Folder 82 holds the "Trinidad Field Trip Diary," herein referred to as "Diary." Folder 87 holds "Trinidad Notes Book I Toco" June to July 1939. Folder 88 holds "Trinidad Notes Book II Toco" July to August 1939. In Box 16, Folder 89 holds "Trinidad Notes Book III" September 1939. The notebooks will be referred to herein as "Notes," followed by the book number.

2. Earlier drafts of this paper were presented at the Caribbean Studies Workshop and the "Problems in the History of Religions" seminar at the University of Chicago and I benefited greatly from the comments and critique of those in attendance. Thanks to the librarians at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture for all their help. Thanks to Wendy Doniger and Stephan Palmié for their comments, criticism, and help with editing. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful readings.

to many in Trinidad,³ was also not always so. The widespread acceptance of the self-evidence of their Africanity was probably only possible after the Black Power movement of the 1970s in Trinidad and Tobago. It also probably owes something to the 1939 ethnography *Trinidad Village*, a study of the village Toco focusing on Spiritual Baptist groups in the area by anthropologists Frances and Melville Herskovits, the thesis of which was the primacy, despite significant reworkings and reinterpretations, of the groups' Africanity.⁴

The Herskovitses' work over the years had largely been dedicated to debunking what M. Herskovits called "the myth of the Negro past," which is the title of his now classic 1941 work. At the time when Melville Herskovits began working in the 1920s, the notion that African Americans had a unique culture of their own, and that that culture had significant continuities with the cultures of West and Central Africa, was radical for mainstream American scholarship. The Herskovitses' studies of the cultures of peoples of African descent in the Americas (in Suriname, Haiti, Trinidad, and Brazil) served as part of this larger project to uncover the African past of African Americans, to recover the continuity (and at times to show the identity) of African American culture with an African one. With this they hoped to help restore the standing and dignity of black Americans. While Melville Herskovits had problematic relationships with African American scholars who were also studying the histories and cultures of peoples of African descent (see Gershenhorn 2004:93-121), and despite critiques of the Herskovitses' work over the last thirty-five years or so (see Mintz & Price 1992, Price & Price 2003, and Scott 1991), their influence on anthropology continues to this day and their work was undoubtedly important for the beginnings of the anthropology of African American cultures, African studies, and African American Studies in the United States.⁵

In Trinidad, the Spiritual Baptists became another test case for this project. The Herskovitses tell the reader that they found among their Trinidadian informants a general indifference (and at times hostility) to Africa and to their proposal of an African origin for African Trinidadian culture (*Trinidad Village*, hereafter TV, 23). Going back to the Herskovitses' notes on their fieldwork in Trinidad and looking at their sources, however, one can see

3. The yearly supplements in most Trinidad newspapers celebrating Spiritual Baptist Shouter liberation day show the degree to which the Spiritual Baptists have arrived as a recognized Trinidadian religion, whose African origins are oft asserted.

4. The anthropologist Stephen Glazier's (1983:34) Spiritual Baptist informants told him, during his fieldwork in the late 1970s and early 1980s, that "Trinidad has one of the oldest and 'purest' traditions of African religion in the New World – sometimes citing Herskovits or Andrew Carr to that effect."

5. Their work, although pioneering for Euro-American scholarship, was hardly unique, being preceded by Caribbean and Latin American anthropologists and ethnologists with similar interests in the African diaspora in the Americas (Yelvington 2001:229).

that responses to questions about the origins of Trinidadian religious discourse and practice (and about “Shouter” Baptists in particular) were more variegated and contentious than simple “indifference,” or even hostility. In the context of the British Empire one hundred years after the end of slavery, where Africanity, most importantly for those in power, equaled barbarity and was viewed as a threat to the civil order, comparing the practices of a group like the “Shouter” Baptists to African religion, and at the same time, through that comparison, postulating a continuity and a kind of essential identity with African culture, would have been troubling to some. The Herskovitses’ questions of African origins struck chords in a larger web of contestations over the colonial definition, illegalization, and repression of certain religious practices and communities on the island, including obeah (“African witchcraft”) and the so-called Shouters. Who was answering questions, in what context, who was listening, and what may have been at stake varied, and so, therefore, did the answers given and the kinds of comparisons made.

Further, what the Herskovitses found in Trinidad was far more complex than the African “cultural retentions” for which they were searching. A few of their sources did embrace Africa, at times quite enthusiastically (though not necessarily in the same ways as they do today), to which the Herskovitses at times showed their own indifference, because the Africa imagined by some Trinidadians was not the Africa the anthropologists were in search of. While their identification of African cultural sources for Spiritual Baptist practice was useful, their Africanist filter caused the Herskovitses to over-emphasize Africanity, and underemphasize or ignore other resources which the Spiritual Baptists used in their social-formative labors, including European magic, fraternal organizations, Hinduism, and Islam. A close reading of the Herskovitses’ monograph, field notes, and diary shows clearly that it was not simply that the people in the village where they worked were indifferent to Africa (though they did at times demur at Africa, for various reasons, as I will explore in the following), but that they had other interests, such as mail-order magic catalogues or the discourse and practices of Indian Trinidadian Hindus and Muslims. Ethnographies of contemporary Spiritual Baptist groups attest to similarly diverse interests and appropriations (see Duncan 2008, Glazier 1983, 1993, Zane 1999); they are evident in the Herskovitses’ own field notes; and the kind of ingenuity⁶ which such interests and appropriations imply is evident through the history of African Trinidadian “shouting” groups, out of which the groups that are today identified as Spiritual Baptists most likely emerged. They are, however, underplayed or elided in *Trinidad Village*. Further, Trinidadians, drawing from a

6. When I use the term ingenuity I mean, with respect to the Spiritual Baptists, the ordinary ritual bricolage of poor people living in difficult conditions, drawing on whatever religious material was at hand for their own purposes.

rich variety of cultural resources, proposed their own, differing origins for their religious practices, depending on what may have been at stake in their responses, given their context and position in Trinidadian society. Works by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1992) and Sally and Richard Price (2003) criticize the Herskovitses in part for setting out with the preset agenda of finding Africa in African American cultures and so, through that lens, inevitably finding Africa wherever they looked. They also criticize the Africa that they found for being static and homogenous, leading to essentializations and reifications on both sides of the Atlantic. Such critique remains valid for their work on Trinidad. The Trinidad case did suggest to the Herskovitses not the more straightforward continuities and retentions of African culture that they thought they had found elsewhere, but rather examples of what they called “transitions,” “readaptations,” and “reinterpretations” of and between African and European cultures.⁷ Rather than passive preservation, these terms compellingly suggest change, exchange, and synthesis. Such an interpretation of African Trinidadian culture, however, in some ways worked against the Herskovitses’ project of recovering an authentic and essential African past on the island. So, despite the interesting theoretical heuristics that they proposed, the Herskovitses maintained that the processes of reinterpretation and readaptation helped to “retain the inner meanings of traditionally sanctioned modes of behavior while adopting new outer institutional forms” (TV vi). This allowed them to reintroduce passive retention and essentialization throughout their analysis of the Tocoans’ practices, often through the metaphor of the culture’s (changing, European) surface and (stable, African) depth, allowing Africa the central place of importance despite historical change and the dynamic practices of Trinidadians.

In the face of this gap between their theoretical perspective on the flux of culture and their insistence on deep permanence I want to read the Herskovitses with and against the Herskovitses. Rather than looking for retentions, cultural essences, or what David Scott (1991:263) calls an “authentic past,” in order to understand the Trinidadian religious discourse and practice recorded in the Herskovitses’ field writings, I will stay with the Herskovitses’ suggestive terms “transition,” “reinterpretation,” and “readaptation,” and with the sentiments and suggestions of the quotation from M. Herskovits with which I opened the paper: tentativeness, productive confusion, and radical contextuality brought out through his model of the many different “tangled strands.” I would have “reinterpretation,” then, suggest

7. The Herskovitses’ ideas continually evolved throughout the 1930s, and their work in Trinidad was a particularly important moment for rethinking their ideas on “reinterpretation” as a theoretical category (Baron 2003). M. Herskovits (1952:553) would later extend “reinterpretation” in his *Man and His Works*, published in 1948, a year after *Trinidad Village*, to be a universal process of cultural change.

what Stephan Palmié (2000:92) has called the “ackee and saltfish model of African American cultural history,” which emphasizes ingenuity and change. Rather than take “readaptation” to be a process of the preservation or continuity of an inner “meaning” despite historical change, the “re-” in “readaptation” would suggest an ad hoc, unfinished quality to human social formation, a third- or fourth-hand repurposing in an ongoing process, without recourse to a privileged essence or a “deep” origin. And “transition” I will take as the in-flux state of culture, including religion, always ambivalent, contested, antagonistic, and heterogeneous.

Religion is a central feature of *Trinidad Village*. Over 40 percent of the Herskovitses’ ethnography is made up of chapters specifically on “religion.” The other chapters, on work, economy, class, the family, etc., are also sprinkled with “religious” material. Rather than taking religion to be a natural category, or an interior feeling or state which finds an outward expression, as the Herskovitses did,⁸ I want to ask, what gets to count as “religion,” in what circumstances, according to whom, with what consequences, and what role does “Africa” (or other proposed origins) play in this discourse on religion in Trinidad? Following David Chidester’s work on the history of comparative religion and colonialism in southern Africa, I will use the comparative work done in the conversations between the Herskovitses and subaltern comparativists (the villagers of Toco and its environs who were their “informants”) as a window into the discourse on religion in Trinidad: the ongoing production of local knowledge about the origins, similarities, and differences of religions, defining and reifying religious groups as part of struggles for local control (Chidester 1996:2-4).

In the first section of the paper I will give some broader background for the discourse on religion in the colonial British Caribbean and will also consider the politics of the definition and prohibition of “Shouters” in Trinidad up to the time of the Herskovitses’ arrival. In the remaining sections I will turn to the Herskovitses’ unpublished field notes and diary from their Trinidad fieldtrip and look there at the fragments of conversations and fleeting voices of the Trinidadians with whom the Herskovitses spoke. In the second section I introduce the local politics of Africa and comparative religion through an analysis of the comparative work of two of the Herskovitses’ earliest interlocutors, their maid Margaret Wright and her friend Selina Washington. In part three, I look to other origins that some Spiritual Baptists proposed to the Herskovitses for their practices, including Western Esotericism. And section

8. Melville Herskovits understood African American religion generally on a similar model to the one of surface and depth which the Herskovitses laid out in *Trinidad Village*. In *The Myth of the Negro Past* Herskovits portrays African Americans as essentially religious at their core, and argues that within their “deep” religious inclination, in the very depths of the “deep,” one can find “Africa” (Herskovits 1990:207).

four turns to the Spiritual Baptist leader Ethel Patrick, her embrace of Africa, and Spiritual Baptist cosmology, as a way of thinking through the other imagined Africas in circulation in Trinidad besides the Herskovitses' model. In the following, rather than indifference to connections with the religious practices of Africa, Europe, or anywhere else, I try to see what people were interested in, and what was at stake in emphasizing or marginalizing differences, similarities, or connections between postulated religions (or cultures more broadly), given who was speaking to whom in what context.

JUMPING, SHAKING, SHOUTING

In the Caribbean, the colonial definition of the practices of peoples of African descent as "religion" was tentative and erratic. In addition, Rosalind Shaw (1990:339) tells us that there are no exact translations of the word "religion" in the languages of the peoples of Africa. Africans did not divide up their lifeworlds as the British did, into the public secular and personal religious, with the focus in the latter on interiority and belief. In a sense then, before colonial contact there was no "religion" in Africa, as the British colonizers understood it. With the slave trade and colonization, however, people of African descent, like those from other parts of the British Empire, began to incorporate the categories and norms taken as natural by colonial administrations, to understand their lives, worlds, and practices through "religion." It is through this history of religion that the eventual formation and outlawing of the Spiritual Baptist movement, as well as the Herskovitses' later interventions, must be understood.

The British colonial elites in the Caribbean used the discourse of religion to regulate unfree laboring populations and other colonial subjects. Production of local knowledge on religions defined what practices got to count as "religion" and what practices did not. This included determining the nature and origin of such practices, as well as a (malleable and contested) hierarchy: revealed, true, natural, and pseudo-religions, as well as sects and, farther down the scale, idolatry, superstition, fetishism, and obeah (or witchcraft). Colonial officials' early questions about the religion of African slaves, however, largely concerned Christian proselytization, and only gradually did questions of what modern scholars might call traditional African religions arise, often in response to slave uprisings, such as Jamaica's Tacky's War of 1760.

If what the slaves were doing was not easily recognizable as "Christian" (as the British understood it, and the Spiritual Baptists were a borderline case, but for some so were Catholics), the practices of peoples of African descent were frequently said not to be religion at all. The discourse on Caribbean religions was part of larger projects of knowledge production about the Caribbean's inhabitants, which served as part of a repertoire of techniques used to manage

and regulate slaves and other colonized peoples (later, indentured laborers and poor free people of color). As part of this discourse, the denial of religion amounted to a denial of full humanity, as Europeans understood it, thus justifying European colonization and exploitation. As will become clear later, this discourse became useful in the control and marginalization of Spiritual Baptists' meetings in the early twentieth century as well.

Europeans in the British Caribbean at first attempted to capture the diverse discourses and practices of African slaves under the category of "obeah" (African black magic), rather than the category of "religion."⁹ Even when what African Trinidadians were doing was arguably "Christian," however, when it was outside of white control and did not meet normative Protestant criteria of what religion was or ought to be, the attribution of "religion" was still denied, and religion's other, obeah, defined as riotous, superstitious, and African, remained as a subtext, helping to further delegitimize such practices. This was the mode of discourse that the colonial government of Trinidad and colonial elites eventually employed to suppress the various African Trinidadian Christian "shouting" groups that precede the Spiritual Baptist's emergence in the early twentieth century.

Tantalizing terms such as "shouting" and "jumping," while they have been read as evidence of the Spiritual Baptist movement before 1917 (sometimes as part of projects to recover an authentic past), are scant evidence for what was actually going on, and were clearly stereotyped language used in polemic against unruly or unregulated Afro-Christian groups. Because of the vagueness of these terms, it is easy to project the current group onto this past and read them forward to meet the interests of the present. But there is no evidence other than the words "Baptist," "shouting," and a suggestion of ritual ingenuity to indicate that these were the same groups as those analyzed by the Herskovitses. Neither Baptist missionary Edward Underhill's thin nineteenth-century description of these "jumping" and "shouting" Baptists,¹⁰ nor A.B. Huggins's work on the Merikin communities, suggests that these were Spiritual Baptists, with all that that name has come to mean.

The Spiritual Baptists' story first conclusively picks up not in Trinidad but with a prohibition ordinance in St. Vincent in the early twentieth century. In 1912 the colonial government of St. Vincent issued an ordinance meant "to render illegal the practices of 'Shakerism' as indulged in in the colony of St. Vincent" (Zane 1999:161). Before the prohibition, a St. Vincent police report from 1905 by the acting chief of police described the need to suppress "Shaker"

9. On obeah as a colonial discourse see Paton 2009.

10. See also as examples the Dominican Missionary Marie Bertrand Cothonay's (1893:157-58) description of the practices of "black Baptists of Princes'-town," called "jumpers," and an article, "The Shouters," from *The San Fernando Gazette and Trinidad News*, May 19, 1894.

Baptist groups in St. Vincent, “a matter which has its roots in one of the few distinct hereditary traits of African barbarism which still remains to the black race in St. Vincent” (quoted in Zane 1999:150). While the exact relationship between the St. Vincent “Shakers” and the Trinidad and Tobago “Shouters” is unclear, they appear to have much in common in terms of their practice (see Zane 1999).¹¹ The “Shaker” prohibition shows that early justification for suppressing groups in St. Vincent (which were plausibly related to the Trinidadian Spiritual Baptists) involved tracing their origins to Africa and what was assumed to be Africa’s inherent barbarism, but the language of the legal prohibition itself does not mention Africa. The colonial government of Trinidad took the Vincentian legislation as a model for their own prohibition when they outlawed “Shouter” meetings and “Shouter houses” in Trinidad in 1917.

The year of the Trinidad prohibition was the height of World War I in Europe. At home in Trinidad, labor agitations were on the rise. There were campaigns against the Indentured Labor scheme, which the war put an end to in the same year; and this in turn spurred the institution of a Habitual Idlers Ordinance, an antivagrancy law which allowed for the forced labor of “habitual idlers” on private estates (Singh 1994:12-14). It was in this tense climate, during which working-class African Trinidadians were beginning to organize and assert themselves, that the prohibition of this religion of mostly poor African Trinidadians was adopted.

During the legislative council hearings on Trinidad’s “Shouters Prohibition Ordinance,” the attorney-general located the origin of the “Shouters” in St. Vincent, where, he said, they had already been “legislated out of existence.” He added that their practices were “not such as should be tolerated in a well-conducted community” (quoted in TV 342-43). Besides prohibiting the meeting of “Shouters” and the construction of “Shouter houses,” the main charge of the prohibition seems to have been “indecent,” which echoes the disparaging and sexually charged characterization of the “Shouter” meetings described in sensationalized news accounts before 1917.¹² The Spiritual Baptists are today generally understood to be an Afro-Caribbean religious movement which draws most significantly from Protestant Christianity and African traditional religions (among others), and a distinct aspect of which is a ritual called “mourning ground,” which features a period of seclusion, fasting, and the covering of the initiate’s eyes with a kerchief, all of which is meant to induce visions, spirit travel, and “spiritual gifts.” The prohibition itself, however, did not actually define what a “Shouter” was, and because it was a derogatory term, few charged under the prohibition would have called themselves

11. The “Shakers” were coming to Trinidad from St. Vincent to proselytize as early as 1894. See for example “The ‘Shakers’ in Town,” *The Port of Spain Gazette*, July 4, 1894.

12. As an example see the article “Shouters” in *The San Fernando Gazette and Trinidad News*, May 19, 1894.

“Shouters,” but rather called themselves, for example, Independent Baptists, Apostolic Baptists, and Spiritual Baptists, among other names. What made one a “Shouter,” then, was not immediately clear.¹³

During the discussion about the prohibition, a member of the legislature, Dr. Prada, asked whether there was any “book which describes the ‘customs and practices of the body known as Shouters’?” The Inspector-General of Constabulary responded that his report described “the whole of the procedure.” Dr. Prada then said: “I want to know how the Magistrate will be guided.” The Attorney-General replied he will have to “call the police officer and decide. I take it the Shouters have not published a book of ritual.” Dr. Prada: “You will have to get a high-caste Shouter to become a police officer” (the text reports parenthetically that there was laughter).¹⁴ The question of defining who a “Shouter” was and what “Shouters” did was left to the Magistrate, who would rely on the police. In a sense the police then were charged with doing the work of the comparative religionist, becoming experts on identifying what “Shouter” ritual involved. That members of the legislature were asking for a “Shouter” ritual manual that could be consulted in order to delineate and categorize “Shouter” groups and their practices is telling. This reflects Protestant British colonial assumptions that religions were self-evidently and naturally definable and separable, in large part on a textual basis. Religions were thought to produce books that consistently and coherently laid out the group’s beliefs and rituals (the latter depending on the former). Since such texts defining the customary practice of Spiritual Baptists did not exist, it fell to the police to become the arbiters of custom as colonial anthropologists of religion.

Along this same line, the comment about recruiting a “high-caste Shouter” to become a resident police expert explicitly invokes British policy in India according to which Hindu and Muslim religious scholars were recruited as (in part government produced) authorities on their religious communities, charged with defining customary or personal laws for their groups, based on what were identified as the authoritative texts (such as the *Laws of Manu* for the Hindus). It was in part through this very process of the production and institutionalization of customary law, of cordoning off and defining officially recognized communities and their respective practices, that Hinduism and Islam were constructed, through the efforts of both colonizers and colonized elites, as “religions.” What is evident here is the use of a model from India for thinking through the regulation of a non-Indian

13. “Shouters Meeting Interrupted by Police,” *The Port of Spain Gazette*, January 23, 1918; “Alleged Shouters’ Meeting,” *The Trinidad Guardian*, June 12, 1918; “Shouters’ Meeting,” *The Port of Spain Gazette*, July 19, 1920.

14. Hansard Records, Debates of the Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago, January-December 1917. November 16, 350-51, National Archives, Port of Spain.

colonized population in the Caribbean. The colonial government in Trinidad was hoping to put in motion a similar process of definition and containment of the heterogeneous “Shouter” Baptist groups, to begin to rein them in under the sign of “religion.”¹⁵ A similar process of religion-making, through prohibition and police regulation and surveillance, as well as the hard struggle of legalization, recognition, and institutionalization, began to make the Spiritual Baptists, over many decades, a religion in this sense. The Herskovitses’ work in 1939 took place in the midst of these processes of the congealing of the Spiritual Baptist movement, processes that continued long after they had left.

However, while the 1917 legislature wished that the Spiritual Baptists would act in a manner closer to their own understandings of what religion was or ought to be, nowhere did they refer to the movement as “religion,” because the Spiritual Baptists did not meet normative colonial definitions of what religion was. Instead they called it a “sect or body” (quoted in TV 343).¹⁶ Further, the popular press largely delegitimized the “Shouters” and authorized their prohibition (despite any claims to freedom of religion) through denial of their status as a religion. For instance, reporting on the discussion of the ordinance in the Legislative Council, *The Port of Spain Gazette*, a mouthpiece for plantation owners, wrote that legislation had been introduced which was meant for the “elimination of the pseudo-religious body known locally as ‘The Shouters,’” who, they wrote, mistook “noise, enthusiasm, and shouting for religion.”¹⁷ The Shouter Prohibition Ordinance became law on November 28, 1917. While the struggle over local knowledge and control was being played out in part through colonial comparative religion, comparing and accounting for the origins of religions, it was not only a tool of the colonial officials or elites. The subaltern classes were actively engaged as well, and spoke back in the name of religion. This became evident some twenty years later, when the Herskovitses arrived in Trinidad.

15. At least by 1936, the *Trinidad Constabulary Manual* had a section on the “Shouters” which did enumerate the attributes which qualified a meeting as a “Shouter” meeting, including “Binding the head with white cloth,” “Holding of lighted candles in the hands,” “Ringing a bell at intervals during meetings,” “Violent shaking of the body and limbs,” “Shouting and grunting,” “Flowers held in the hands of persons present,” and “White chalk marks about the floor” (quoted in TV 345).

16. “Body” was a somewhat pejorative term used by the government of Trinidad in the nineteenth century to describe Dissenters and other non-Anglican Protestants living in the colony (e.g. “On Concurrent Endowment,” *Port of Spain Gazette*, January 6, 1872).

17. *Port of Spain Gazette*, October 10, 1917.

COMPARING RELIGIONS IN A TRINIDAD VILLAGE

While the Herskovitses argued that “retentions” were preserved through (or despite) the reinterpretations of African Trinidadian village dwellers, they wrote that the Trinidadians themselves were quite unaware of this African “presence” adhering in what they saw as their ordinary everyday practices. In *Trinidad Village* the Herskovitses told the reader in fact that Trinidadians, when it came to things African, felt indifference, particularly in comparison to other African American groups the Herskovitses had studied, in places like Suriname, Jamaica, and Haiti, who took pride in a postulated African heritage (TV 23). The Herskovitses’ questions and interests, however, were not necessarily those of the villagers. This was particularly so in the case of the Spiritual Baptists, who were an outlawed minority under surveillance by the police and persecuted by the government, and for whom a comparison to Africa may have been problematic. But on reading the diary and field notes from the Trinidad trip, it is clear that not all of the people the Herskovitses spoke to in the village Toco were “indifferent” to Africa. On occasion some did choose to invoke Africa, as well as other kinds of origins, for their discourse and practice. The question becomes not one of simple disinterest, but of emphasizing or deemphasizing, of drawing attention to similarity or difference to African or any other culture, in a particular context, in the service of specific interests.

Melville and Frances Herskovits arrived in Trinidad and Tobago on June 14, 1939. That night, at a dinner for the newly knighted Chief Justice of Trinidad, their fellow diners suggested that the anthropologists should go to the village of Toco, in the far northeast of the island, because the south would be too difficult, owing to the “labor troubles” of the last three years, and because of “its intense industrialization” (Diary 1-6).¹⁸ The “troubles” that the Herskovitses were warned about were the immense and violent protests by laboring groups and unemployed masses that began in the mid-1930s and came to a head in 1937. The Herskovitses looked to do their work in a rural area, away from such unrest but also where African-derived culture, particularly the Afro-Trinidadian Shango cult, would still be available to them, evincing what they hoped would be fewer marks of European influence.

They were able to arrange for a place to stay in Toco and headed out to the village. M. Herskovits’s first impressions of Trinidad recorded in his diary shows a dissonance between the anthropologists’ expectations of what they would find and what they encountered in Toco. Early in the diary M. Herskovits wrote that he was impressed by “the smoothness of the Europeanized surface” of the African Trinidadian community in Toco (Diary 10). While they did not find “Africanisms” immediately in evidence, the Herskovitses used a metaphor of surface and depth, which appears in the

18. The diary appears to have been kept by Melville Herskovits alone.

diary as well as their monograph, to relate what they saw as the relative positions and importance of European and African cultures. The Herskovitses were able to maintain their assertion of the central importance of African culture for African American lives by arguing that those aspects of Toco culture that had clear continuities with European cultures (of which there were quite a few) were in some sense superficial. The Spiritual Baptists and Shango, the Herskovitses argued, despite having varying aspects of European “surface,” were rooted in “some of the most deeply set traditional values in Negro societies” (TV 189). The “deeply set” values in which these religions were rooted were of African origin.

On moving out to Toco, the Herskovitses hired Margaret Wright as their cook (Diary 6-8). Wright became an important informant for them, as well as someone who helped to arrange interviews with other people living in the village and the surrounding area. Shortly after their arrival in Toco she introduced them to Selina Washington, a nurse, originally from Barbados, who had lived in Toco for forty years. As their first informants, Wright and Washington became the first people whom we can see engaging with the Herskovitses in the discourse on religions in Trinidad and the question of the Africinity of Trinidadian culture. At first both women tried to distance themselves from things African, and what they saw as “superstition.” They both said they had no knowledge of African dancing, or of African religion. When asked to recite Trinidadian folktales, Washington gave the Herskovitses stories she got from “nursery books” and told them she did not know any “Anansi tales,” or stories of the West African (and Caribbean) spider trickster figure (Diary 10). Wright also claimed she did not know any Anansi stories, but eventually the Herskovitses were able to collect some from her son (Diary 14). Further, Wright told the Herskovitses she did not believe in jumbies – spirits of the dead that can sometimes be malicious, or be used with malicious intent by obeah practitioners. However, she is clearly the source for the story in *Trinidad Village* in which a woman who takes three mangos from a deceased person’s tree dreams of a man scolding her for stealing his mangos and subsequently becomes sick, and must appease this spirit with food offerings and an animal sacrifice to become well again (Diary 11-12; TV 157-58). One could read these denials as part of a general indifference or hostility to Africa. However, the Herskovitses had only recently hired Wright and been introduced to her friend, and neither of them knew the white anthropologists very well. Certainly they were trying to be helpful, but given the negative connotations of things African for many in Trinidad at that point, distancing themselves from it was probably the safer move.

In her conversations with the Herskovitses about the Spiritual Baptists and recent Spiritual Baptist arrests that had occurred in the area, Wright talked about the importance of tolerance, though she said she did not attend the Baptist church herself. In a note in the Diary, however, M. Herskovits

wrote that he considered her “a bit too emphatic about it” (Diary 11), that is, he was convinced she most likely had some connection with one of the churches, if she was not herself a member. In discussing Spiritual Baptist practices, specifically what “Shouters” do when they “shout” and “ring the bell,” both Wright and Washington “compared this to the ringing of the bell in the Catholic and Church of England services, though they did differentiate between ‘ringing’ and ‘tinkling’” (Diary 11). Wright and Washington’s comparison points to the arbitrary nature of the Herskovitses’ assignment of Africa as the origin for such a generic set of practices (bell ringing, “shouting”). Given how roundly demonized and othered the “Shouters” were, their comparison of the Spiritual Baptists with mainstream Christianity (and the religions of the European elites) in the context of Toco was as highly contentious as the kind of comparative work the Herskovitses were doing there. Wright and Washington searched out other available models, examples, or patterns with which to think through and assess Spiritual Baptists’ practice that did not have the negative valences that the Herskovitses’ Africa had. The general assessments by the colonial elites, and also many in the general population, regarding “Shouter” Baptist practices were negative, ranging from ridiculous to chaotic, obscene, devil worship, or worse. The argument that these women were making here, by contrast, was that these practices were ordinary and comprehensible, that what the Spiritual Baptists were doing was not very different from what many were doing in their own churches (Protestant or Catholic). Rather than simple indifference, Wright and Washington’s comparison shows deep interest and thought on the part of Trinidadians, which were, however, different from those of the Herskovitses.

TANGLED STRANDS

On the night of June 28, 1939, the Herskovitses attended a Spiritual Baptist church service. M. Herskovits wondered in the diary if the chalk designs which they saw on the floor of the Spiritual Baptist church were a Trinidadian version of *verver* (Diary 22). *Verver* or *veve* are elaborate designs done on the ground in ash and cornmeal that correspond to different deities (*lwa*) in Vodou and are used during rituals addressed to those deities. M. Herskovits’s initial move was to account for the chalk markings through the model of *verver* in Haitian Vodou, a religion that the Herskovitses saw as a “restoration” of “traditional African institutions” (TV 4). What the Spiritual Baptists said about the markings was very different, however. For instance, Josiah Williams, a Toco laborer and member of LaCroix’s local Spiritual Baptist group, told the Herskovitses that the chalk markings were the “work of a particular person in the church and has been given him by God when their meaning was revealed” (Notes Book I, 44). This explanation is not one of cultural influence or the

tracing of historical origins, but an account which appeals to direct revelation by the Holy Spirit to an individual member of the congregation in a dream (a prophetic vision as part of baptism, mourning ground ritual, or spirit manifestation). This sidestepped the question of the Africinity of Spiritual Baptist practice, at least of the kind that the Herskovitses were seeking.

In another statement, Ned, a fisherman and Spiritual Baptist who was fined for permitting "Shouter" services on his land, explained that the chalk designs were culled from material that Spiritual Baptist congregants had received from the De Laurence Company of Chicago, which sold occult magic and science books through mail order. A number of Tocoans participated in the diverse but interrelated discursive traditions of Spiritualism, mesmerism/hypnotism, European magic (called "Kabala" in Trinidad), and the secret wisdom of an Orientalism-inflected "East," adopting and adapting elements from these traditions for their own social-formative projects. Older men in Toco would pool their resources and purchase from the De Laurence catalogue books such as the "Sixth Book of Moses," "Man Know Theyself [*sic*]," the "Heminence [*sic*] of God," books by Albertus Magnus and books on "Hindu" magic. When the Herskovitses asked about "African language" "magic" books, though, the response from Babb (who identified himself as "part Kramanti, part Hibo") was that "people don' like it, can' read it" (TV 228-29; Notes Book II, 107). When Ned drew examples of the chalk designs for the Herskovitses, he included a mark that M. Herskovits identified as a sign from the zodiac. This in some way changed Herskovits's mind about the analogy of Vodou, prompting him to write in his diary: "Involved stuff, this, with so many different strands tangled into it that one almost despairs of getting it straightened out" (Diary 60). In a later interview, Ned said that the work of the De Laurence Company was itself "correct Baptist;" that "They are taught in the Spirit" (Notes Book II, 72; TV 229). Again, one could see this explanation of origins as part of an indifference to Africa (such as Babb's description of the rejection of "African language" magic books), or as an avid interest in something else, evidence of what even the Herskovitses eventually recognized to be a significant discursive and practical source from which Spiritual Baptists (and others in Trinidad) drew, one strand among many.

The Spiritual Baptist Ned, who had had trouble with the police because of his affiliation with and support for the "Shouters," thus familiarized and rendered intelligible Spiritual Baptist practices by making connections and drawing comparisons to widespread and popular "magic" materials and practices which came to the Caribbean from Europe and other parts of the Americas. In this conversation Ned not only explained the origins of the chalk marks with reference to the De Laurence Company, but also reversed the flow of influence, making the De Laurence Company a "Baptist," and therefore Christian, enterprise (rather than making Spiritual Baptist practice a result of the influence of an American magic mail order catalogue). The

idea that De Laurence was “taught in the Spirit” suggests that he learned his esoteric knowledge through prophetic vision or dream, as the Spiritual Baptists do during the mourning ground ritual, when they receive “spiritual gifts” from the Holy Spirit, the same source Josiah Williams gave for the chalk marks. Ned and others’ identification of the occult science of the De Laurence Company books as a source for Spiritual Baptist discourse and practice further complicates the account of the Spiritual Baptist movement, demonstrating Spiritual Baptist ingenuity, even as they turn that occult science into “correct” Christian religion. The Spiritual Baptists knitted together strands spun not only from Protestant sources (the explanation of the designs with reference to the Spirit and Christian mythology) and “African” ones (similar to *verver*’s relationship between *lwa* and design), but from whatever “spiritual” resources were available, whatever they saw as being efficacious, whether Albertus Magnus or “Hindu” magic.

AFRICA AS A MATTER OF SPIRIT

While the Trinidadians that the Herskovitses interviewed may have seemed to them “indifferent” to their proposed retention of African culture in their daily practice, there was an explicit, though not widespread, expansion of “African race consciousness” among the African Trinidadian middle class and intelligentsia across Trinidad, beginning in the 1920s. This included attempts, on a limited scale, to learn African languages and to validate the history of Africans and African Americans through reference to the work of African American scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois (Singh 1994:51-52). Further, it is clear from the text of *Trinidad Village* that at least some poor working-class Tocoans were also not indifferent to Africa, even if they eschewed Africanity. The Herskovitses themselves reported that the mutual aid society, the United Negro Association, a branch of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, was present in the village; and that Garvey himself was popular with Tocoans, as was Haile Selassie, then Emperor of Ethiopia, who was seen as fighting the whites (Italian colonizers) for the control of Africa (TV 263, 265). And a major component of the Spiritual Baptist cosmology and ritual practice involves reference to Africa as a territory accessible through dreams and spirit journeys, a place from which African spirits could come, visit a person undergoing the mourning ground ritual, and possibly possess them. So there were clearly different African Trinidadian social movements and political projects emerging in Trinidad among different class groups around the time of the Herskovitses’ visit, and a key component of some of those projects was imagining Africa (past, present, and future). Included among those groups were the Spiritual Baptists, who, according to the Herskovitses, very often eschewed Africa.

The Herskovitses, however, were much less interested in the types of African projects that attracted the Spiritual Baptists, nor was the Africa that the Trinidadians imagined for the most part the Africa the Herskovitses were interested in. They were looking for “their” Africa, uncovering (or imagining) a particular historico-anthropological West African type that was central to their own project, under which these other imaginings of Africa did not fall. So it may be useful to turn away from “indifference,” to interest, which is evident in some of these imagined connections to Africa, to see what role they played in the discourse on religion, the political projects, and struggles for local control of knowledge in Toco. We will do this through an examination of the Spiritual Baptist “Teacher,” Ethel Patrick.

There were at least two police raids on Spiritual Baptist meetings and several arrests in Toco, Sangre Grande, and Sans Souci, the area where the Herskovitses were working, around the time when they were in Trinidad. The raid most widely discussed, in part because of the high fines passed down by the judge and the fame of the woman pastor, occurred shortly before their arrival. *The Evening News* of Thursday, June 1, 1939 reported “Shouters Fined”: “Ethel Patrick, known as ‘Full of Vigour,’” the leader of the Spiritual Baptist group, was charged for “keeping a ‘Shouters’ meeting;” the penalty was a 50 dollar fine or two months in jail. The Spiritual Baptist reverend, Eudora Thomas (1987:24), recalls in her memoir that Teacher Patrick and members of her church were picked up for a baptism they performed at a river in Sangre Grande. During the time when the Herskovitses did their work the Patrick case appears to have been a frequent topic and was an opportunity for some in the community to engage in (to use Chidester’s term) “frontier comparative religion” (Chidester 1996:2-3).

In *Trinidad Village*, the Herskovitses wrote that, “Only one elderly woman who lived in the area about Toco identified herself primarily with things African. She called herself ‘Yarriba,’ and recorded a considerable number of songs in the Yoruban language, which she said she could also speak” (TV 28). The “Yarriba” woman, however, was not the only woman in the diary and notes to identify with “things African” and to speak (after a fashion) an “African” language. But the Herskovitses omitted from the *Trinidad Village* monograph the incident involving another woman, Teacher Patrick herself. When Ethel Patrick does show up in the Trinidad diary it seems that the Herskovitses, particularly Melville, had an ambivalent relationship with her. Teacher Patrick was from Sangre Grande, not far from Toco (Diary 11). As a woman “Teacher” or Spiritual Baptist leader she was something of a controversial figure (e.g., Notes Book I, 41), though overall in the interviews available from the Herskovitses’ papers most people in the area were sympathetic to her and her group, particularly with regard to the arrests and fines. But M. Herskovits was suspicious of her, even though she would become a major

informant for them on Spiritual Baptist practices, and this suspicion even carried over into her anonymous portrayal in the *Trinidad Village* monograph.¹⁹

Of his first impressions of her on their meeting on June 30, M. Herskovits wrote: "As might be expected, we got relatively little out of her except an impression of a very clever woman who senses her opportunities and makes the most of them" (Diary 28). He saw her as someone trying to take advantage of the situation somehow. He wrote that during their discussion with her:

She became interested in our talk of Africa, and began to pull talk in "tongues" which she said was African until we didn't recognize any of the words except a possible single one. She has no sense of the paganism of the African people, but stresses their power, and was delighted when we told [her] about possession, which of course is just what happens when, as she explained, "the spirits come to you and you feel strong and shake and shout." (Diary 29)

Here Patrick, unlike many of those with whom the Herskovitses spoke, drew comparison and emphasized similarity between African and Spiritual Baptist practice. When she began to "pull talk in 'tongues,'" however, they took her to be trying to fool them by pretending to know an actual African language. It is quite difficult to uncover Patrick's intentions here; perhaps she was trying to please the anthropologists, giving them what they wanted and thus gaining the interest of those who might have proved prestigious converts for her. However, given that Teacher Patrick was a Spiritual Baptist, it is not surprising that her contribution to their "talk of Africa" was spoken in tongues. The Herskovitses were looking for examples of African "survivals": stories, music, dance, religious rituals, and languages. What Patrick gave them was a (re)construction of Africa of a different sort. Patrick considered the "language" which she was speaking "African," but it was not a "survival" of a particular African language as the Herskovitses understood it. Rather it was a gift from the "spiritual" territory of Africa, a location in the Spiritual Baptist cosmology. It was, I would argue, also very much evidence of the colonial history of Trinidad. Given their reference to her speaking in tongues, with her obvious interest in "power" and spirit possession, it is likely that Teacher Patrick during this interaction was speaking in tongues in the Spiritual Baptist manner, talking "African language," having been, as the Spiritual Baptists understand it, possessed by a spirit of African origin. This was a demonstration at their home of the Spiritual Baptist practice called

19. The Herskovitses write that the possession state of the anonymous "teacher" of the "Shouter" group they visited "seemed to rob her of none of her awareness of the things around her," suggesting it was faked (TV 221).

mourning ground, which Spiritual Baptists believed gave practitioners such abilities, and which the Herskovitses explicate in their ethnography.

In *Trinidad Village* the Herskovitses write that the other major “Shouter” Baptist ritual besides baptism is “mournin’ ground,” which provides “gifts” of visions, higher powers, and further initiation into the “mysteries” of the group (TV 204). The “Mother” (a ritual title) of the group helps in the “mourning,” caring for the initiates along with the “Nurse,” and helps to interpret visions, which are the main goal of the mourning ground ritual complex. “Spirits” come during the time of isolation, which can last from days to weeks, and take the initiate, through dream, to the spiritual territories of Africa, India, and China, to learn to talk “African,” “Indian,” or “Chinese language,” have visions of other places and people, saints, and angels, and gain other “spiritual” gifts (TV 205). After the mourning ritual, “The mourner sings or speaks, as he is impelled to do by his spirit” (TV 208). This often includes practitioners being compelled to speak “African” or other tongues. Patrick and the Herskovitses’ interaction evinces a clash of conceptions of the relationship between race, religion, and language. Despite Teacher Patrick’s claims on Africa, however, speaking “African language” did not count, for the Herskovitses, as evidence of something “African,” even though the Herskovitses’ reconstructions were theoretical acts of imagination not wholly different from the work of the Spiritual Baptists. The Herskovitses considered Patrick ignorant of Africa, and it is clear that Melville at least never quite trusted the “clever woman,” even after receiving more information about Spiritual Baptist cosmology.

Patrick’s interest, though, was not particular to Africa. She could just as easily have spoken Chinese or Indian “language,” because spirits can come from other lands as well. Spiritual Baptists like Teacher Patrick claim not only an African origin for some of their practices, but, as Patrick explained to the Herskovitses and they report in their monograph, an Indian and Chinese one as well, yet further strands added to the tangle. And such gifts are not limited to language. After dream travel to these territories, meeting with different spirits and beings, the person possessed by a spirit of that place will take on the characteristics, presumed likes and dislikes, ways of eating and dress, etc., of the people from that country. For instance, when someone in the mourning seclusion gets an African spirit, they may ask for *kuku*, identified as an African cassava dish (TV 205). As ethnographers have reported in the last thirty years or so (for example, Glazier 1983), through such vision narratives and possession performances, at least within the space marked off and authorized by the ritual, people could change their usual tastes and comportment, embodying the religious, gustatory, and sartorial habits of Others, including the incorporation of ritual elements from other religions, such as the use of Hindu ritual paraphernalia and Muslim discourse borrowed from Indian Trinidadian Hindus and Muslims.

Early on in their trip, M. Herskovits visited the head of the police in Toco and was told that the Afro-Trinidadians were little influenced by the “Hindus [Indians]” or “Coolies,” but, rather, that the influence, when there was any, went the other way round (Diary 7; TV 20). *Trinidad Village* does not mention “Indian” elements in Spiritual Baptist practices,²⁰ but the diary and notes contain some evidence of greater mutual exchange than the police officer suggested. The police report from the Patrick case identified, as part of the materials recovered at the scene of the “shouting,” a *lota*, or common brass vessel in India brought to Trinidad by indentured Indians and, in the new context, primarily used as an item in Hindu ritual practice.²¹ The *lota*, readapted by Spiritual Baptists for their own purposes, was itself already an object readapted by the Indians, transformed from an ordinary vessel in India to a ritual item in Trinidad, a readaptation of a readaptation. Moreover, in an interview in the notes, Ethel Patrick tells the Herskovitses that when a mourner comes from the “track” (or spiritual territory) of India, “we take red paint, paint a post across the hand, paint the nails, toes. Dress with veil. They look fine ... Come back say ‘Mohamed,’ say ‘Allah’” (Notes Book II, 78). Even in 1939, clearly, as is evident today, Spiritual Baptists were reimagining, experimenting with, and incorporating into their own rituals Trinidadian Hindu and Muslim discourse and practice, which had been present on the island since 1845, when Indian indentured laborers were first brought across the ocean to work in the cane fields. None of this, however, made it into the final manuscript of *Trinidad Village*. Nor did the Herskovitses ever unpack the “Hindu” magic books from the De Laurence Company mentioned above, that Ned and other Spiritual Baptists used and that refer us to broader European, Indian, and African American attempts to reimagine, readapt, and incorporate “the mysteries of the East,” perhaps along the lines of the Theosophical tradition. The fact that Herskovitses ignored or dismissed Spiritual Baptists’ use of Indian material, Muslim and Hindu, may have been due to their focus on “Africanisms,” but also perhaps to their distrust of Patrick and of the postulated “spiritual” sources of that “Indian” material.

The prophetic dreams of the mourning ground, in which initiates narrated routes through the Spiritual Baptist cosmos, as well as the resulting “spiritual gifts,” were part of strategies for dealing with the situation of colonial Trinidad, mapping out an emerging world system as it related to the lives and histories of peoples at the grassroots in Trinidad. Spiritual Baptist visioning techniques seem to imagine something like what Arjun Appadurai (1996:33) called “cultural flows.” Drawing upon the materials made avail-

20. Although they do mention that a “Hindu” woman and her child visited one of the Spiritual Baptist services they attended, but left before the service’s end (TV 219).

21. A copy of the Patrick case is included among the Herskovits papers in Folder 105 held at the Schomburg Center.

able through the globalizing trends of the free flow of unfree labor from across the Americas, West and Central Africa, and South and East Asia – the meshing and clashing of newly formed ethnoscaples, ideoscaples, and mediascaples, including Christianity, (neo)African traditions, mail-order Western Esotericism, secret fraternal practices, Caribbean Hinduism and Islam – the Spiritual Baptists endeavored to rethink and recode their location on the bottom rung of society and at the economic margins of their context.

Following a history of forced removal from the material land of Africa, thrown together with other unfree laborers, peasants, and colonized subjects from India and China, the Spiritual Baptists could use their mourning ground prophecies to rework colonial histories and recode colonial hierarchies, allowing the dream narrator free and instantaneous travel across imperial and national borders, returning to Africa, India, and China as spiritual locations. Through the gifts of the spirits of those locations – new languages (glossolalia), motor patterns, and ritual practices – they could cross racial, ethnic, and religious boundaries that the colonizers regarded as demarcating irreducible, conflicting, and natural racial and religious groups. These experiments with what the colonizers considered other people's practices – assuming the patterns of speech, bodily comportment, tastes, gustatory habits, aesthetics, names of deities, and ritual materials of peoples who were assumed to be self-evidently different and racially, religiously, and aesthetically incompatible – contested colonial essentialisms, and hierarchical difference. Through the imaginings of the mourning ground as a material practice, the Spiritual Baptists could gesture beyond the assertions of British racial science, colonial comparative religion, post-slavery peasantization, and "divide-and-rule" policies, though they could not overcome them. But they were able, through this practice of imagination, through reworking their narratives, bodies, and habits, to engineer new ways of organizing human life.

CONCLUSION

After doing interviews and participant observation with Shango practitioners in Port of Spain from September 9 through 11, the Herskovitses left Trinidad (Diary 114-15). The ethnography based on their work, *Trinidad Village*, was published in 1947. *Trinidad Village* is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, ethnography of the Anglophone Caribbean, and the first ethnography of Trinidadian culture. It also marks the beginning of the modern academic study of religion in Trinidad. The Herskovitses made an important contribution, recording many aspects of the lives, the voices, and the dreams of poor black Trinidadians, and they did so with the aim of uplifting all peoples of African descent in the Americas. While their contributions were important, the Herskovitses' work in Trinidad remains equally important as a document

allowing the scholar of religion a snapshot of the cultural politics of religions and religion-making in the southern Caribbean. In analyzing the struggles over authoritative knowledge about and appropriate performance of the practices of peoples of African descent in the Caribbean, I have attempted to trace the different uses, by anthropologists, colonizers, and colonized, of the attributions, and denial, of “Africanness” and “religion,” in Trinidadian religious discourse and practice, in the fabrication of authenticity and coherence, as part of the continuous processes of identity construction and social formation in colonial Trinidad.

Early colonial anthropology (of which colonial comparative religions were a part) served to define the “racial,” “tribal,” and “religious” essences of African peoples in the British Americas, which often included asserting the slaves’ barbaric African nature and lack of religion. Even after the abolition of slavery, a similar discourse of religion still functioned in the colonies, as is evidenced by the continuation of laws banning obeah, “Bongo” dancing and drumming, and the outlawing of Spiritual Baptist groups in Trinidad. The colonial comparative religion done by police, judges, and legislators in Trinidad defined and helped enforce these laws. To a certain degree, then, the essentializations of the Herskovitses’ comparative religion work shared problematic assumptions with a colonial anthropology. While they recorded the value of “Africa,” they did not challenge the essentializing baseline assumptions about religion and culture at work. Subaltern comparative religionists in Trinidad also contributed to this in different ways, but challenged it too through a counterdiscourse on religion, speaking their groups in the name of religion and a right to its freedom.

While the historical beginnings of the Spiritual Baptists are unclear, I have tried to trace the politics of origins that was played out in Trinidad at the time of the Herskovitses’ fieldwork, as part of the discourse on religion being produced there. Instead of imagining African Trinidadian social formation on the model of surface and depth, though, as the Herskovitses did in their ethnography, I would instead propose returning to M. Herskovits’s ad hoc metaphor of the tangled strands. In reading through the Herskovitses’ diary and field notes, the totalizing portrayal of indifference among Tocoans which they present was clearly too simplistic. What comes out in their work is that people’s opinions were contradictory, but there was evidently a deep interest and much thought on origins (whether African or not). Different people responded differently to the Herskovitses’ queries and prompts about African and Trinidadian religions. The scholars’ and the locals’ proposed sources for Trinidadian discourse and practice ran up against and meshed with one another, in ways that reflected the intermeshing and clashing of their interests. While the Africa that the Herskovitses (re)constructed is useful for understanding religion in a Trinidad village, it was just one strand. The metaphor of the tangled strands helps the scholar to keep in mind the ingenu-

ity of the Spiritual Baptists' projects of social formation – which draws from Africa (however variously imagined), as well as the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia – an ingenuity conceptualized by the Spiritual Baptists through their cosmology and enacted through the “gifts” from the spirits of other lands.

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ALEXANDER ROCKLIN
History of Religions
University of Chicago
Chicago IL 60647, U.S.A.
<arocklin@uchicago.edu>

TREVOR BURNARD

DEATH IN THE TROPICS

Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914. J.R. MCNEILL. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xvi + 371 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.99)

Medicine in an Age of Commerce and Empire: Britain and its Tropical Colonies 1660-1830. MARK HARRISON. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. x + 353 pp. (Cloth £65.00)

Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800. ERIK R. SEEMAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. xii + 372 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

In the late seventeenth century, revolutionary change occurred in political economic thought. The powerful director of the East India Company, the Tory Sir Josiah Child, argued that property was natural, not created by human endeavor, and was hence necessarily finite. The Tories believed in a version of political economy in which property was a natural creation (land), in which agrarianism was paramount, and which posited a zero-sum world of commercial exchange. The Whigs, by contrast, opposed this agrarian understanding of political economy. They believed that property was the result of human endeavor, that it resided in people and the efforts of human labor. Moreover, they thought that property was potentially finite. They supported the demise of the Royal African Company and the rapid expansion of the slave trade and plantation commerce. British Americans were Whigs. Blessed with abundant land, not just in North America but in the frontier West Indies, British Americans around 1700 focused most of their efforts on trying to extract as much labor as they could from people whom, in the case of Africans, they thought of as commodities rather than as sentient beings. The more people one could have, or could control, the more power one would have. It is for this reason that Britons were obsessed with demography and very concerned that natural population growth and British migration was slow in British North America and going into reverse in the British West

Indies. Whigs believed that human labor created property, and that therefore it was possible to generate infinite economic growth (Pincus 2009).

The Whigs won; the Tories lost. They did so in part because the people who were especially receptive to the Whig perspective were London merchants involved in the burgeoning West Indian Atlantic trade. The arguments they advanced were enthusiastically embraced in Britain and British North America where, after 1700, population advanced rapidly. Debates over population became more prevalent in the eighteenth century because it was becoming clear that the more people a place or nation had, the more its prosperity was ensured. Moreover, an increasing population was also taken as a clear sign of moral superiority. A virtuous people was a fruitful people who married early, produced lots of children, and improved land. The links were made clear by Benjamin Franklin in a famous pamphlet in which he celebrated the fecundity of the white population of British North America, comparing their demographic success pointedly with the less vital colonies of the Caribbean. In the early nineteenth century Thomas Malthus, a Scottish clergyman with land in the West Indies, added a pessimistic tinge to Franklin's sunny optimism, but for most of the eighteenth century it was axiomatic that a healthy and, more importantly, a good society was a society in which the population was growing rapidly.

Such views made the British West Indies problematic. No part of the world was more prosperous, more modern, or fuller of useful knowledge and useful commodities that were improving British life. Yet, as the books under review (as well as recent and heralded books by Vincent Brown [2008] and Stephanie Smallwood [2007]) show, the distinguishing feature of life in the islands was its transitory nature. Lots of people, white and especially black, went there. Most of them died well before their time. The demographic facts were chilling, especially for the greatest plantation societies in the Greater Antilles. In Jamaica, sizeable annual migration of whites was insufficient to keep a population battered by malaria and yellow fever (African diseases that may be seen as Africans taking revenge on their oppressors) and weakened by venereal disease from growing more than minimally over the eighteenth century. In Saint Domingue, the importation of 800,000 Africans between 1680 and 1777 resulted in a population of only 290,000 enslaved people. The consequences of this demographic disaster were vast. That the Americas are not demographically dominated in 2010 by the descendants of Africans is testimony to how much death stalked the tropics and evidence of the destructiveness of slavery. A brief indulgence in an obvious counterfactual – populations flourishing rather than declining in the Caribbean – makes us realize how different the world would be if the population of, say, Jamaica had been 600,000 with 100,000 whites at the American Revolution rather than 200,000 of whom just 15,000 were whites. Of course, an even more obvious counterfactual – that the catastrophic decline of Native American populations in

Hispaniola and elsewhere that occurred in the wake of Columbus's arrival had not happened – might also be considered. We can only speculate about how the Caribbean, and the world, would have been different if the indigenes of the Americas had retained or increased population levels after 1492.

Counterfactuals come immediately to mind when reading John McNeill's thought-provoking and persuasive argument that places the humble mosquito at the heart of Caribbean and Atlantic history between 1600 and 1900. McNeill is fond of counterfactual history. Geopolitics also comes to mind. McNeill's paradigm-shifting book is even more of a challenge to traditional geopolitical understandings of the early modern Caribbean than a support for environmental explanations of historical change in the region. For once, the encomiums on the back cover are justified. McNeill does indeed challenge readers' assumptions about the limits of human agency in shaping great events. It will be interesting to see, for example, if historians of the American Revolution pick up on his assertion that American success at Yorktown in 1781 did not result from superior strategy or from the genius of George Washington but occurred because the British army was devastated by yellow fever. What McNeill makes us understand is that environmental matters profoundly shaped the history of the Caribbean. Moreover, he shows how long-term ecological change transforming landscapes combined with short-term epidemiological events such as the repeated virulent outbreaks of yellow fever that afflicted European populations in the West Indies from 1690 to 1820 to produce profound geopolitical consequences.

McNeill advances two important propositions. First, he shows that outbreaks of yellow fever among non-immune European migrants compromised entirely all ambitious schemes for European settlement in the British and French West Indies. The disasters of the Scots at Darien in 1698-1699 and the French at Kourou in 1763-1764 showed, conclusively, that Europeans could not settle in hot climates, at least while yellow fever and malaria raged. New England or New France could not be replicated in the Caribbean. Colonies in this region necessarily had to be colonies of exploitation rather than colonies of settlement. Death overwhelmed life. Second, he shows that virulent disease made Spanish America, once established, invulnerable to attack. The Spanish were extremely worried that after the British took Havana in 1762 they would use Cuba as a base by which to attack and capture Cartagena and then march to Mexico City itself. They need not have worried. The easiest way to destroy a European army was to send it to the Caribbean. Non-immune soldiers and sailors perished from yellow fever in extraordinary numbers and in rapid time. If a force was to achieve military success, as at Havana, it had to be willing to accept huge losses of men, had to employ ambitious amphibious military methods, had to get in fast, win easily, and then withdraw. If a place was well-defended, as most Spanish American places were, and was able to hold out for more than a few days from attack,

then disease would work for it. There was no possibility that British forces could have sustained themselves for long enough in the Caribbean to ever entertain attacking Mexico. Such observations are both true and profoundly important for understanding imperial interactions in the region.

McNeill is aware of the limits and novelty of his argument. He does tend, however, to stretch his evidence. His argument is sufficiently compelling for some of his more extreme statements to be unnecessary. The Caribbean was not quite as impregnable as McNeill imagines. Islands and forts could be overcome, as in Guadeloupe and Martinique during the Seven Years' War, in Pensacola in the American Revolutionary War, and in Havana in 1762. For McNeill, the latter event was entirely the exception to the rule. He engages in some special pleading as to why it should be considered as exceptional and as a pyrrhic victory for the British. Possibly McNeill is right in thinking that yellow fever was so inexorable that it could always be employed as a defensive weapon and that Caribbean populations should have been more confident that they could repel any attack. But that was not how it appeared at the time. Jamaicans, for example, were so convinced that any opposition they showed to Britain during the American Revolution would result in British troops invading that they begged off joining the thirteen colonies in revolution. McNeill tends to think that West Indians were as aware of how disease protected them as he is. But that is not clear. Certainly, he overstretchs when arguing for Toussaint as a military genius in the Haitian Revolution who used guerrilla methods because he knew that they were the best way of advancing biological warfare. It is true that Jacques Dessalines thought that "our avenging climate" was one reason for ex-slaves' victory over the French, and he is also correct that Toussaint explicitly mentioned that his strategy was to wait till the rainy season before attacking the French, expecting disease to be his friend during such attacks. But Dessalines made his comment in 1804 as a post-facto explanation for Haitian success and Toussaint, as McNeill notes, never followed through with his strategy, negotiating with the French (unsuccessfully) in May 1802 rather than keeping the French engaged until the rains came in late summer. It is a leap to get from this to a statement that Toussaint knew better than anyone that yellow fever was the weapon of the weak and that he transformed his wars into biological exchanges (p. 262).

What McNeill's book does show is not only that death was omnipresent in the Caribbean but that historians need to look at that omnipresence not just as a set of numbers detailing mortality rates and differential racial resistance to disease but as a fundamental cultural fact. Vincent Brown has been especially influential in trying to trace cultures of death in the British West Indies. In particular, he has attempted to overturn an older paradigm advanced by Orlando Patterson in which death was so constant and so negative a presence in enslaved persons' lives that their whole experience was defined by death. For Patterson (1982), slaves experienced "social death" when enslaved, a

condition he conceptualized as one where there were no meaningful links to the past or connections with other people. It is a bleak historical vision, where disorganization, instability, chaos, and constant violence made it close to impossible for slaves to gain any meaning from life and even harder for them to find solace in death. Brown resists such an interpretation, arguing that "death and life are not only opposites but also mutually constitutive states of being made meaningful by the practices that define them." He continues: "Death was not only an end; it spurred regeneration, thereby helping to constitute life." He wants to see "the social and cultural activity surrounding death less as a pathological distortion of recognizably healthy life than as a natural state of affairs under conditions of creative destruction," nodding to Joseph Schumpeter's famous definition of capitalism in his last two words. For Brown, the creativity shown was political, as it is also for Richard Price, who argues for the importance of understanding death and deathways in the Caribbean as a means of "unravel[ing] the tightly woven threads that bind destruction and invention, death and creation, in the wake of the Columbian moment" (Brown 2009, Price 2005).

Erik Seeman wants to further such ambitions in his accounts of deathways in the Caribbean. Seeman is not a Caribbeanist but an historian of Native America and his well-researched book is only partly about the West Indies; even when treating the West Indies it is mostly concerned with Africans and occasionally Jews rather than with all sections of the population. Consequently, it is not as sophisticated as Brown's work, in which white understandings of death are treated as sympathetically as are those of blacks. Nor is it as theoretically adept as Smallwood's work which explicitly engages with and rejects Patterson's nihilistic vision of what slavery meant for the enslaved. The main value of Seeman's account is the mass of detail, historical and archaeological, that he presents about how enslaved people were buried. He shows that there is a lot more evidence available about African-American deathways in the eighteenth century than we might imagine. For Seeman, this evidence all points one way. Africans were not dislocated entirely from Africa on arrival in the Americas – mortuary practices were largely African inspired. They suffered no "social death" either. Their funeral practices were rich and, as far as can be ascertained, meaningful. They also became increasingly African-American, incorporating in particular Christian rituals. Seeman claims that as African memories faded a spiritual vacuum emerged that Christianity eventually filled. Why Africans had a spiritual vacuum is not really explained – as Seeman notes, Jews never experienced religious change as they became Jewish Americans and Native Americans were much more resistant to Christian ritual than were Africans. That enslaved people became Christian is undeniable. But at least in the Caribbean the transition to Christianity was very late, occurring at the earliest over a century after the development of the large integrated plantation. It seems to me that Seeman,

for all the great evidence he has accumulated, has missed a trick. The adoption of Christianity by enslaved people eventually seems less significant to me than the fact that they resisted Christ's siren call so long and that even when they became Christians they transformed Afro-Caribbean Christianity to become a syncretic and fluid religious practice.

Mark Harrison doesn't mention creolization in his impressive, and expensively priced, treatise on how British medical practitioners in the West and East Indies came to colonize the subject of tropical medicine. He also barely mentions enslaved people and their contribution to the development of tropical medicine, ignoring the claims made for Afro-Caribbean contributions to medical practice in the eighteenth century (see Schiebinger 2004). He comes to this topic from a different direction – the history of medicine and the history of intellectual thought in the Enlightenment. Thus his concerns are not those that usually concern Caribbean historians. But his work is very much a contribution to creolization debates.

It is also a landmark in the history of ideas as they pertain to the British West Indies. He shows that colonial doctors created "a medicine of place: an epitome of knowledge distilled from a variety of learned traditions, folklore and scientific investigations" (p. 4). From their experience of living in warm climates, they developed, in "an Empire of Experiment," techniques and theories informed by practice that showed that the colonies were more than just places where people made money, where slaves lived miserable lives, and where death rendered individual and collective lives meaningless. If anyone made anything out of the grim demographics of tropical environments, it was the thousands of medical practitioners catering to the ill and dying. Amidst a culture in which death was constant and in which the common fear was of putrefaction, an inevitable tendency toward decay and degeneration, emerged a group of intellectuals, or quasi-intellectuals, who were able to contribute something of great importance from their experience in the tropics to metropolitan culture besides sugar and silks. To echo Price's words: out of destruction came invention; out of death came creation. As experts on tropical medicine, with their expertise based not on theory but on an empirical and experimental approach to medicine that foreshadowed the development of more scientific approaches such as pathological observation in British medicine, colonial doctors, Harrison argues, profoundly altered the nature of British medicine. By placing great emphasis on observation and practical experience, these doctors encouraged readers of their many treatises to reject British book-learning, to look askance at traditional sources of professional authority, and to look on the colonies as the source of wisdom for a growing and recognizable branch of medical literature, living (and dying) in warm climates.

Harrison's work is a major contribution to the history of medicine. It shows that we have to look to the empire and to the interplay between commercial and military expansion in the tropics and the often malign effects

such expansion had on European constitutions in order to understand a significant part of medical development from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth. He wants to show that in the movement from doctors' understanding of diseases as imbalances in the humors to their recognition that they could be traced through organs, tissues, and especially the nervous system, was not just developed in 1790s Parisian hospitals, as is traditionally thought. Rather, he argues, it was a more cumulative process of change involving experimentation in naval and military medicine conducted in the colonial tropics, mainly in order to understand how fevers worked and how their progress could be stopped.

India is probably more important than the Caribbean as a location for transformative change in medicine. But Harrison pays a lot of attention to the West Indies in his sometimes dense but always persuasive argument. His work is thus also a contribution to an evolving discourse among scholars in which the relationship between culture, race, climate, and environment is being profoundly reworked. The Caribbean was a laboratory where new intellectual ideas exploring the interaction between all these things occurred and where these relationships were transformed over the eighteenth century. Central to investigations was the conundrum that great wealth in the Indies was accompanied by enormous mortality, most of which came from fevers that were, as McNeill notes, new diseases, at least for Europeans.

Initially, doctors drew on established geohumoral notions of the transit of disease in which it was understood that bodies were inherently mutable, able to change under the influence of air or climate. It was places, not people, which were the sources of disease and bodily corruption. What had to be done was to work on how people could be acclimatized, or "seasoned" to tropical climates. The problem was that as doctors developed more sophisticated ways to render unhealthy environments healthy and as they showed that the climate in the tropics was not necessarily malign, Europeans there kept on dying. Indeed, as McNeill shows, soldiers' deaths from fever in expeditions to Saint Domingue in the 1790s and 1800s were enormous. If the place was not necessarily unhealthy, then the fault must lie in the type of people going to the Caribbean and, more importantly, in the kinds of behaviors they exhibited there. The medical advances that colonial doctors made in understanding the causes of fevers coincided, Harrison argues, with a growing tendency to think in racist terms. The increased currency of racial ideas was part of a greater cultural transformation in which fluid notions of self evolved into more fixed categories of identity, grounded in immutable biological differences (Wahrman 2004). By the early 1800s, susceptibility to disease was seen as an important marker of racial difference. Ironically, what doctors' investigations of fever revealed, as opinion slowly changed from geohumoral understandings of the transmission of disease to understandings of causation influenced by pathological observation, was that it was not the place, but rather the peo-

ple, that was unhealthy. As in political economy, it was through understanding individual behavior rather than the peculiarities of specific “warm” locales in which advancement of knowledge could be achieved.

Do these books highlighting the importance of death as a theme of importance in the history of the early modern Caribbean provide us with any larger theme than recognition that demographic disaster stunted growth in the Caribbean and cast a deadly pall over West Indian cultural formation, as hinted at in Patterson’s concept of social death? How do we extract meaning from societies where death was constant, flux permanent, memory limited, and experience morbid? What unites all three books, and other works on the culture of death in the Caribbean is the quest for meaning, for a demonstration that something useful came out of the putrefaction and despair that early modern peoples felt was emblematic of living in countries where bodily survival was especially insecure. The meaning is in knowledge production. The colonization of the Caribbean was a knowledge-intensive enterprise and in the contours of death a great amount was learned by military men, religious figures, and doctors of all races and creeds. By learning about how death worked in the tropics, and conveying that information throughout Atlantic circuits and migration and movement, residents and itinerants in the Caribbean created new knowledge and new ways of knowing.

It was in this process of creating and communicating knowledge that we can see death the way Brown and Price wish us to see it, as constituting something more than just destruction but entailing creation and invention. In dealing with death and with the cultural and geopolitical changes wrought by the pervasiveness of death as a Caribbean motif, each of the authors treated above suggest, West Indian peoples gave a Caribbean dimension to the production of knowledge in the early modern Atlantic (see also Crawford *et al.* 2010). I’m not sure this is enough – the numbers of people dying seem still more important to me than the meaning that people gained from the ubiquity of death in the region. Moreover, we still have lots to learn about how many people went to the Caribbean, how many died there, and how many people were able to leave descendants. In short, we may be moving ahead too rapidly, evaluating what death meant before we know exactly how death worked in the Caribbean. But these books, and a growing body of scholarship, suggest that historians are learning from anthropologists that we can understand a great deal about society by appreciating how they incorporated death into their matrix of cultural practices.

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TREVOR BURNARD
School of Historical and Philosophical Studies
University of Melbourne
Parkville VIC 3010, Australia
<t.g.burnard@warwick.ac.uk>

JUDITH W. LEAVITT & LEWIS A. LEAVITT

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Launching Global Health: The Caribbean Odyssey of the Rockefeller Foundation. STEVEN PALMER. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010. xi + 301 pp. (Cloth US\$ 70.00)

Partner to the Poor: A Paul Farmer Reader. PAUL FARMER, edited by HAUN SAUSSY. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. xii + 660 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.50)

Historically and still today, outsiders of goodwill come into a community, a nation, a region, and try to improve the living conditions and health of the people who live there, often bringing ideas that are foreign to the native peoples. Sometimes these outsiders are representatives of the wealthy and titans of industry. Sometimes they are religiously motivated people fulfilling spiritual obligations. Sometimes they are government officials carrying out public policy. Sometimes they are altruists who have no monetary or other agenda. Although most scholars agree that there are some common themes uniting these very different individuals and groups, most have posited important differences between, say, the Rockefeller Foundation's work in the early twentieth century and Paul Farmer's current work in Haiti, Peru, and elsewhere. The two books under review here entice us to think about these similarities and differences, to historicize them, and, perhaps, to see them in new ways.

Steven Palmer, an historian at the University of Windsor, Canada, considers the Rockefeller's early international forays in *Launching Global Health*. Following upon its efforts in the U.S. South, Rockefeller's International Health program (IH) waged hookworm eradication campaigns beginning in 1914 in Central America and the Caribbean. Palmer examines in depth four of these sites – Trinidad, British Guiana, Guatemala, and Costa Rica – and looks more briefly at Nicaragua and Panama. The book provides a well-researched and carefully documented comparative account that overturns many previous ideas of how the U.S. biomedical model travelled abroad.

Situating himself within recent scholarship by Warwick Anderson on the Philippines (2006) and Anne-Emanuelle Birn (2006) on Mexico, among others (e.g., Cueto 1994), Palmer continues the move to more nuanced and complex analysis of international public health. But he goes against the common view that Rockefeller work was imposed from the top down onto host countries or exemplified a completely biomedical view of public health (Farley 2004).

Rather, he demonstrates convincingly that local conditions and traditions shaped the programs as they evolved in each country and that they were transformed by the host societies according to their particular situations and priorities. Thus, although the Rockefeller Foundation had hoped to use these early pilot projects to create a model it could carry to other parts of the world, what emerged from the four examples were four very different developments. Central America and the Caribbean may have proved that hookworm campaigns could be used as entering wedges for larger public health programs and they may have provided a training ground for other Rockefeller public health workers, but these early experiences did not teach easily transferable lessons. Each mission Palmer examined evolved as a unique product of local political and social dynamics. Thus, if there was a single lesson to be learned from these experiences, it was to expect difference and to understand that sensitivity to local conditions and open communication with local cultures are essential in building successful international health programs.

Hookworm is a disease of social and economic dislocation and it thrives in poverty. The larvae of this microscopic parasitic worm (the largest are actually visible to the naked eye) are deposited onto the soil in human fecal matter and enter the body through the soft skin between the toes of those who walk barefoot. They enter the blood stream, pass into the lungs, and migrate up to the throat to be swallowed down to the stomach and intestines, where the worm hooks onto mucosa and sucks blood. The female hookworm can lay 5,000-25,000 eggs every day, which are passed back into the soil to start the cycle again. The infected person's chronic loss of blood leads to iron deficiency anemia that can produce severe listlessness and disorientation and is sometimes fatal. Hookworm infection has been present in tropical zones around the world for a very long time. Effective – if sometimes harsh – treatment with thymol or chenopodium was evolving during the early twentieth century and formed an important part of IH work; the preventive approach – building and using sanitary latrines (or wearing shoes, which did not seem to be part of the campaigns discussed here) – was even better.

Before Rockefeller came to Central America and the Caribbean, Costa Rica had already developed a national hookworm treatment program, and it is no surprise that the most successful IH program was built in that country, where local activity already demonstrated interest and hookworm control was not an alien idea. The Rockefeller physicians aimed to demonstrate what the

disease was, how to cure it, and how to prevent it, and to create a new culture of hygiene based on germ theory of disease. IH provided money, personnel, and organizational aid toward these ends. U.S. physicians were outsiders, but in all the countries examined, the staff were local physicians, nurses, epidemiologists, and others connected to the communities in which they worked. IH tried to change treatment protocols and especially the main approach: while health officials in affected areas would traditionally set up dispensaries to which infected people could come for treatment, the Rockefeller men instead instituted what became known as the “American method” or the “intensive method,” which went into all communities and tested stools and blood systematically across the population. They then treated all who were found to be infected. The American method did not work in Guatemala; elsewhere it worked in varying degrees and configurations. Costa Rica adopted it most wholeheartedly, always adapting and modifying it according to local responses. Palmer’s main point is that hookworm control was most effective in civic settings characterized by free, literate, and politically engaged populations, and that biomedicine, no matter how effective, cannot be imposed from the top but can only be operationalized with the consent of the sufferers and in conjunction with existing local understandings.

The book succeeds admirably in providing evidence and discussion to demonstrate that the Rockefeller directors understood the importance of local responses and agency. The two countries best analyzed are Guatemala and Costa Rica. Guatemala, for a number of reasons including a catastrophic earthquake, a terrible outbreak of yellow fever, the timing of the influenza pandemic, and the death of an effective Rockefeller officer, was not a success story. Costa Rica, because of its previous national public health work, and because of the social and political context that welcomed the outsiders and knew how to make use of them, became the major success story. The other four countries discussed are harder for the reader to separate out and thus the comparisons are harder to understand, although Palmer clearly delineates specific characteristics of the British Caribbean (Guiana and Trinidad).

Paul Farmer is not mentioned in Palmer’s book, but his work and his essays connect directly to what happened in Central America and the Caribbean in the early twentieth century. Farmer, a professor of Social Medicine at Harvard University, has, with the help of editor Huan Saussy, collected his extensive corpus of writings in *Partner to the Poor*. He ranges widely and deeply with the goal of understanding and remediating the proximate and distal causes of suffering and disease in Haiti and more broadly in the interaction between global social, economic, and political forces and the daily burden of suffering and disease borne by people who are poor.

Farmer’s reader summarizes an extraordinary body of work, both scholarly and clinical. It provides a theoretical framework and a personal narrative in which to position Palmer’s book, just as Palmer provides the historical

frame for contextualizing Farmer's work. Farmer is deeply unsatisfied with an anthropology of "culture" as the royal road to explaining global health inequities. For him, respect for longstanding tradition, social hierarchy, and ideology does not justify the violation of human dignity. While, like Palmer, he emphasizes that using local knowledge and practices is vital to the success of any public health effort, he also underlines the power and effectiveness of modern biomedicine. Crucially, he identifies "structural violence" as the most potent factor in explaining the parlous health state of the Haitian populace. Structural violence is the injury caused by institutions, political policies, and social hierarchies. Farmer contends that the powerful forces of the international political economy overwhelm the indigenous Haitian possibility of coping with and remediating the local disease vectors that devastate the poor.

Seen through Farmer's lenses, Palmer's history of hookworm relief provides case studies that display the explanatory power of structural violence as well as some parallels to Farmer's program of public health in Haiti. Farmer and his colleagues have created an organization, Partners in Health, which uses local health workers in Haiti and elsewhere and makes no compromises with seeking the most effective medications available in modern biomedicine. Partners in Health, like the most effective programs described by Palmer, is sensitive to local knowledge and practices. For Farmer, public health means recognizing structural violence and working actively against it. Long recognized as a problem in Latin America, this is well identified in Salvador Allende's classic 1939 monograph, *La Realidad Medico-Social Chilena*, which questions how health could be provided to "malnourished people dressed in rags and working under merciless exploitation" (Allende 2006:153).

While both books have an academic dimension, Farmer, by dint of his personal immersion in the precarious battleground of health care and health policy, directly confronts the question: What is to be done? He also interrogates the dichotomies that commonly inform discussions on medical initiatives in global health: exalting agency vs. blaming the victim, traditional medicine vs. western biomedicine, expensive technology vs. local cheaper alternatives, treating diseases vs. preventively improving sanitary infrastructure. He finds these contrasts, the stuff of academic discourse in bioethics, counterproductive and potentially harmful.

In example after example he shows that cultural barriers to accepting modern biomedicine are better explained by lack of money. Traditional explanatory systems can readily accommodate to the success of western medicine. Farmer suggests that emphasizing local agency may be less important than the overwhelming effects of the political and economic structures of the local environment. Expensive drugs need not be so expensive if regimes of pharmaceutical monopoly are challenged.

Partners in Health provides a working model for the development of global public health interventions. The case study of integrated HIV preven-

tion and care (pp. 270-86) is an exemplary presentation of how sensitivity to local conditions and traditions and knowledge of biomedical pharmacotherapy can be effectively integrated. The development of the therapeutic regimen was dynamic (that is to say, it changed as new information became available). New roles for health workers were created based on activities already embedded in the culture: neighbors who were involved in offering aid to the sick were given the title “acompañateur” and a small stipend. Importantly, the specific disease therapy was linked with efforts to improve infrastructure, as it had been in the Rockefeller experience in Costa Rica. The lessons embedded in this and other Farmer case studies are invaluable for all academics who study the human condition in its social, political, and economic dimensions. Ill health and poverty are intertwined in a brutal mix of painful sequelae.

Both books under review provide a welcome tutorial in the political economy of public health in Latin America. Palmer and Farmer together offer helpful perspectives on urgent conundrums of public health and the bioethics of medical research and practice among rural and urban poor. Reading the books together helps us understand the meaning of agency and cultural practice among people who have very limited if any resources to act on that agency. Both books address the way medical and public health intervention in the face of institutional structural violence can improve people's lives. Academics and activists alike will be well served to ponder these lessons.

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JUDITH W. LEAVITT
Medical History and Bioethics Department
University of Wisconsin
Madison WI 53706, U.S.A.
<jwleavit@wisc.edu>

LEWIS A. LEAVITT
Pediatrics Department
University of Wisconsin
Madison WI 53705, U.S.A.
<lewis.leavitt@gmail.com>

RICHARD PRICE & SALLY PRICE

BOOKSHELF 2011

Since our retirement from the College of William & Mary in May 2011, our process for handling reviews has changed. In the past, publishers routinely sent review copies to our office in Virginia and, once we found appropriate reviewers, the books were mailed to them by a student assistant. But now we have neither an office in the United States nor an assistant to handle the mailings. So we learn about new titles via journals, newspapers, the Internet, and acquisitions lists supplied by KITLV in Leiden. Then, once we've found a willing reviewer, we ask the publisher to send the book to that person directly. This means that your faithful book review editors do not see most of the books that are reviewed in the journal. One year into this new procedure, it seems to be working smoothly.

We would like to thank all those colleagues and publishers who facilitate the process – the *NWIG* now averages about 75 reviews and review articles per year, plus brief mentions of another hundred or so in our annual Bookshelf. We sympathize with fellow scholars' busy schedules and extra-academic obligations and are deeply grateful for their help in the often thankless process of bringing books to the attention of readers. Special thanks go to four colleagues who have been particularly active, this year as in the past, in suggesting potential reviewers: Jorge Duany, who so often advises us on Hispanic Caribbean books, Peter Hulme, who helps with literary studies, Ken Bilby, who is our main man on music, and Fred Smith, who keeps us aware of developments in archaeology.

Unfortunately, there continue to be some colleagues who agree to write a review, add the book to their personal library, and then, despite cordial reminders over a period of many months, neither produce the promised review nor return the book so it can be sent to an alternative reviewer. Thus, it is once again our solemn duty to induct these scholars into the Caribbeanist Hall of Shame. As is our custom, and in an attempt to exercise discretion and protect the reputations of innocent Caribbeanists, we follow the eighteenth-century convention in identifying the delinquents by first and last initials. Here are the books and reviewers concerned:

Contentious Liberties: American Abolitionists in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834-1866, by Gale L. Kenny (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 44.95) (M—y T—r)

Cuba and the Fall: Christian Text and Queer Narrative in the Fiction of José Lezama Lima and Reinaldo Arenas, by Eduardo González (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010, paper US\$ 32.50) (W—y M—n)

Postcolonial Romanticisms: Landscape and the Possibilities of Inheritance, by Roy Osamu Kamada (New York: Peter Lang, 2010, cloth US\$ 67.95) (L—h P—i-G—t)

La révolution antillaise: Quelle place pour l’Outre-mer dans la République? by François Durpaire, Michel Giraud, Guy Numa, Pascal Perri, Stéphanie Melyon-Reinette, Serge Romana & Luc Laventure (Paris: Eyrolles, 2009, paper €16.00) and *Les Antilles en colère: Analyse d’un mouvement social révélateur*, by André Lucrèce, Louis-Félix Ozier-Lafontaine & Thierry L’Étang (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010, paper €20.00) (Y—r B—a)

This year we complement our Caribbeanist Hall of Shame with a sort of Publishers Hall of Shame – a list of books of interest to Caribbeanists that have not been reviewed in the journal because the publishers have failed, after at least two requests on our part, to send them to our reviewers. (In these difficult economic times, some publishers have first requested evidence that the *NWIG* has indeed published reviews of books they’ve sent earlier, and we always reply with details on that history.) Here are the books never received by reviewers:

An Ethnographic Study of Papadjab, an Afro-Caribbean Devil Dancer: The Christmas Street Festival in St. Lucia, by Benjamin Wintersteen (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 109.95) (Would have been reviewed by Patricia de Freitas)

Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics, Sex, and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution, by Deborah Jenson (Liverpool U.K.: Liverpool University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 95.00) (Would have been reviewed by Léon-François Hoffman)

The Brilliant Disaster: JFK, Castro, and America’s Doomed Invasion of Cuba’s Bay of Pigs, by Jim Rasenberger (New York: Scribner, paper US\$ 32.00) (Would have been reviewed by Javier Figueroa)

Slipping Away: Banana Politics and Fair Trade in the Eastern Caribbean, by Mark Moberg (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009, paper US\$ 32.95) (Would have been reviewed by Laurence Grossman)

Assumed Identities: The Meanings of Race in the Atlantic World, edited by John D. Garrigus & Christopher Morris (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 29.95) was apparently sent twice, in good faith, by University of Texas Press, to our reviewer, Douglas Libby, in Belo Horizonte,

so we can tentatively blame the Brazilian postal service rather than the publisher in this case.

There are also several books that we asked publishers to send to us in Martinique, for inclusion in Bookshelf 2011, but which never arrived. In this case, the fault may well be the Martiniquan mail system – we merely list those works here.

A Shtetl under the Sun: The Ashkenazic Community of Curaçao, by Jeannette van Ditzhuijzen (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011, cloth €29.50)

Black in Latin America, by Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: New York University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 26.95)

Conquistadora, by Esmeralda Santiago (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011, cloth US\$ \$27.50)

Cuba: My Revolution, by Inverna Lockpez (writer), Dean Haspiel (artist), Jose Villarrubia (colorist) & Pat Brosseau (letterer) (New York: [Dc Comics] Vertigo, 2010, cloth US\$ 24.99)

Das neue Kuba: In Bildern der Nachrichtenagentur Prensa Latina 1959-1969, by Harald Neuber; mit einem Essay von Michael Zeuske (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 2011, paper €19.95)

Is Just a Movie, by Earl Lovelace (London: Faber & Faber, 2011, paper £12.99)

Life of James Mursell Phillippo: Missionary in Jamaica, by Edward Bean Underhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 32.99) [reprint of an 1881 biography by a friend]

Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies, by Sven Loven (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010, paper US\$ 43.50) [expanded new edition of the 1924 classic]

Patterns of Caribbean Development: An Interpretive Essay on Economic Change, by Jay R. Mandle (London: Routledge, 2011, cloth US\$ 95.00) [apparently, the republication of a 1982 book]

The Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas, edited by Robert L. Paquette & Mark M. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 150.00)

The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire, and War in the West Indies, by Matthew Parker (New York: Walker, 2011, cloth US\$ 28.00)

Two other titles that caused unusual problems: *Artists, Performers, and Black Masculinity in the Haitian Diaspora*, by Jana Evans Braziel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008, paper US\$ 24.95), was an indirect victim of the Haitian earthquake – our reviewer, working on relief efforts, simply couldn't take time out from more pressing matters to complete the job. And our reviewer for *Deconstructing Gender in Carnival: A Cross Cultural Investigation of a Social Ritual*, by Valeria Sterzi (Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag, 2010, paper US\$ 39.95), wrote us that "it is so poorly written, poorly organized, poorly researched, and poorly conceived"

that he found it “hard to say anything even remotely positive about it,” so we excused him from the task.

As usual, we begin this year’s Bookshelf with fiction.

Bim: Arts for the 21st Century (now in its fourth volume, published biannually) has risen like a Caribbean phoenix from the ashes of its landmark namesake. Published in Barbados from 1942 to 1974 under the editorship of Frank Collymore (and then, occasionally, until 1996), *Bim* featured the early work of such writers as Edgar Mittelholzer, George Lamming, Samuel Selvon, Roger Mais, V.S. Naipaul, Kamau Brathwaite, Derek Walcott, Mervyn Morris, Edward Baugh, and Austin Clarke. The first new issue, celebrating Lamming, is a joyous potpourri of literary criticism, Lamming speeches, and a pre-*Castle* short story first published in *Bim* in 1948. The second new issue celebrates Caribbean women writers, the third Frank Collymore, and the most recent Kamau Brathwaite. Edited by Esther Phillips and slickly produced (in color) in Barbados, this is a journal well worth supporting, both with literary or critical contributions and with subscriptions (www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bimarts).

Caribbean Reasonings: The George Lamming Reader – The Aesthetics of Decolonisation, edited by Anthony Bogues (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011, paper US\$ 30.00), displays Lamming’s precocious anti-colonialism (as early as his 1953 first novel, *In the Castle of My Skin*, that anticipated so many of the themes in Fanon’s *Les damnés de la terre*) as well as his six subsequent decades of poems, novels, speeches, and interviews that evidence his unwavering moral integrity in regard to decolonization, the sovereignty of the people (and the sovereignty of the imagination), and an aesthetic of resistance and liberty. The volume includes more than 400 pages of writings by and about the master, well-chosen and fresh as a new Caribbean morning.

Anna In-Between (New York: Akashic Books, 2010, paper US\$ 15.95), Elizabeth Nunez’s seventh novel, offers a sharply etched picture of mother-daughter (and other) family relations in an affluent neighborhood of a Trinidad-like island, where colonial relations continue to cast their lengthy shadow. The eponymous narrator, a successful West Indian immigrant in New York, feels indeed “in-between” both in her editing job in Manhattan and on this visit to her parents, where at the age of forty she discovers how many of her firmest convictions about them (and the island where she grew up) require rethinking. Memorable characters, finely written.

In Search of Asylum: The Later Writings of Eric Walrond (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011, cloth US\$ 74.95), edited by Louis J. Parascandola & Carl A. Wade, brings together a number of interesting pieces of fiction and non-fiction by this Guyana-born, Barbados- and Panama-bred author. Walrond worked with Marcus Garvey in 1920s Harlem and was thought to have “disappeared” in Europe shortly after the publication of his

well-known 1926 collection, *Tropic Death*, but he in fact continued writing both in France and in England, where he died in 1966.

“*Noir*” takes on special meaning in *Haiti Noir*, a collection of short stories edited by Edwige Danticat (New York: Akashic Books, 2011, paper US\$ 15.95, part of which is donated to an organization promoting justice, democracy, and sustainable development in Haiti). Authored by Haitians and others who’ve spent time in Haiti, the eighteen imaginative stories (of which Danticat’s is our favorite) travel between Haiti and the United States, privilege and poverty, tenderness and violence, in the process folding death into its many (often gruesome) contexts.

We mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Peepal Tree Press, which has done so much to encourage Caribbean writing, by noting three new works of fiction and three of poetry (all six are Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree Press, 2011, paper). Accomplished Grenadian novelist and poet Merle Collins offers a collection of stories, *The Ladies are Upstairs*, that stand out in their authenticity of place and character; her fictional island of Paz and its inhabitants are West Indian to the core. Keith Jardim’s *Near Open Water* are short stories set mainly in Trinidad (with a nod to Guyana), where danger, corruption, and violence hang heavy, in a set of vivid local landscapes. Alecia McKenzie’s first novel, *Sweetheart*, adopts the voices and perspectives of several characters to weave the story of a young Jamaican artist who makes it in the art world of Manhattan in the 1990s in a plot moving between events on the island and in New York. All three are £8.99.

Turning to Peepal Tree Press publications of poetry: *Wheels* (£10.99), Kwame Dawes’s sixteenth book of poems, brings his muscular Jamaica-bred style to bear on post-earthquake Haiti, contemporary Kingston, Ethiopia and Rastafari, Obama’s cool, and much else, with the *Book of Ezekiel* just off stage, and the whole written in a prophetic yet meditative voice. *The Face of Water: New and Selected Poems* (£9.99) is the fourth collection by Shara McCallum, originally from Kingston but living in the United States, gathering intelligent, carefully crafted reminiscences of childhood (her father recorded in the same studio as Bob Marley), the Jamaica of her mind (including cityscapes, landscapes, politics), and the present (“Susquehanna”). *The Twelve-Foot Neon Woman*, by Loretta Collins Klobah (£8.99), collects poems that exude Puerto Rico but speak also of Venezuela, Carriacou, St. Lucia, and the Caribbean as a whole – frank evocations of geography, history, contemporary violence, and iconic paintings (Oller’s *El Velorio*, Calliste’s *My Memory Alwy There*, Pissaro’s *Two Women Chatting by the Sea*) that sparkle with a Spanish-inflected English.

And more poetry. *So Much Things To Say: 100 Calabash Poets*, edited by Kwame Dawes & Colin Channer (New York: Akashic Books, 2010, paper US\$ 16.95), offers an attractive, bubbly collection of the works of poets who’ve read, during its first ten years, at the Calabash International

Literary Festival, held annually at Treasure Beach, Jamaica – from Derek Walcott, Amiri Baraka, Lorna Goodison, and Robert Pinsky to scores of poets little-known to us from around the world. *Solar Throat Slashed: The Unexpurgated 1948 Edition*, by Aimé Césaire, edited and translated by A. James Arnold & Clayton Eshleman (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 26.95), is the first *en-face* French-English complete edition of *Soleil cou coupé*, which the editors call Césaire’s “most explosive collection of poetry ... charged with eroticism and blasphemy ... diasporic surrealism.” *Nativity / Nativité / Natividad* (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 2010) is the trilingual version of Lasana Sekou’s English language *Nativity* first published in 1988 – a chant, dirge, prophesy, and celebration of the journeys of African peoples throughout the world.

Two volumes of literary criticism. In *The Routledge Companion to Anglophone Caribbean Literature* (London: Routledge, 2011, cloth US\$ 185.00), edited by Michael A. Bucknor & Alison Donnell, nearly sixty literary critics (from senior figures to recent PhDs) tackle canonical writers (from C.L.R. James, Lamming, Naipaul, and Walcott to Michelle Cliff and Marlene NourbeSe Philip) and then go on to “Critical Generations,” “Textual Turning Points,” “Literary Genres and Critical Approaches,” “Caribbean Literature and ...,” and “Dissemination and Material Textuality.” The 660-page text is varied, rich, and fulfilling – a fine publication. Turning to the recently deceased and much-regretted Édouard Glissant, *Les voies de la créolisation: Essai sur Édouard Glissant* (Le Havre: De L’incidence éditeur, 2011, paper €28.00), by Alain Ménil, is a lengthy, passionate, philosophical analysis of the master’s thoughts, sharply distinguishing them (as Édouard always did in conversation with us as well) from those of the Créolistes.

Three specimens of travel writing. *Trois ans à la Martinique: Études et mœurs, paysages et croquis, profiles et portraits*, by Louis Garaud (Paris: Orphée, 2011, paper €22.50), a facsimile reprint of the 1909 expanded edition of a book written in 1891, displays stereotypical charm, frank racism, and a modicum of practical information (from the way fisherman construct their *gommiers* to the way sugar is manufactured). Patrick Leigh Fermor’s justly celebrated *The Traveller’s Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2011, paper US\$ 19.95), originally published in 1950, remains the most elegantly written, urbanely informed (Fermor loves the islands’ libraries), sharply observed work of its kind, far more perceptive and engaging than (if just as opinionated as) Naipaul’s *The Middle Passage*. Finally, *Wild Coast: Travels on South America’s Untamed Edge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011, cloth US\$ 27.95), by John Gimlette, has been praised by the *Wall Street Journal* and the *TLS* but leaves us cold – glib and sprightly, it is ill-informed and plain wrong about much that matters regarding the realities of the three Guianas.

Two overlapping reference works of interest to every Caribbeanist. *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c. 1450-c. 1850*, edited by Nicholas Canny & Philip Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 150.00) contains nearly 700 pages divided into thirty-seven essays by well-known specialists – consistently absorbing. Volume 3 of *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, “AD 1420-AD 1804” edited by David Eltis & Stanley Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 180.00), which we received because R.P. contributed a chapter, “The Concept of Creolization,” is even larger, with a similar set of authors; the other three volumes, of less direct interest to Caribbeanists, cover slavery in the ancient world, the period to 1420, and modern slavery, always from a global perspective.

Several works on Suriname. *Medicinale en rituele planten van Suriname* (Amsterdam: KIT Press, 2011, paper €29.50) by Tinde van Anel & Sofie Ruyschaert, presents more than 500 pages of plant descriptions, photos, sketches, and lore, gathered from various population groups in Suriname – an accessible, useful compilation, with cross-referencing and several indexes. In Thijs Heslenfeld’s *Au! Er tikt een tijdbom in het Surinaamse oerwoud* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011, cloth €34.50), full-sized color photos are interspersed with essays on half-page inserts that carry the title’s message – “Gold: There’s a time bomb ticking in the Suriname forest.” Portraits of Maroons, Amerindians, and others who live in the interior combine with landscapes, domestic settings, plants, animals, and more to illustrate both the richness of the environment and the threats that gold-mining poses to its survival. *Saamaka: hoe een paar dorpjes, diep in het oerwoud, opgenomen worden in Suriname* (Paramaribo: Caribbean Media Group, 2011, paper n.p.) gathers some 86 of Dutchman Menno Marrenga’s illustrated columns from Suriname newspapers and magazines, recounting his twenty-three years living in Saamaka territory as an outboard motor repairman, with mordant analysis of the changing Saamaka scene – from tourist camp architecture to the cell-phone revolution – always paddling his own canoe. *Remnant Stones: The Jewish Cemeteries of Suriname / Epitaphs* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2009, cloth US\$ 99.50), by historian Aviva Ben-Ur & architect Rachel Frankel, presents transcriptions and English translations of nearly 1,700 epitaphs in Portuguese, Hebrew, Spanish, Dutch, Aramaic, and French, carved into the gravestones of cemeteries in Cassipora Creek, Jews Savanna, and Paramaribo; excellent photos and numerous indexes make this an important reference work. Finally, *Beyond Dutch Borders: Transnational Politics among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, paper US\$ 49.95), by Liza Mügge, compares Surinamese, Turkish, and Kurdish immigrants in the Netherlands in terms of their participation in Dutch and transnational politics.

Our colleague at the KITLV, Rosemarijn Hoefte, has kindly contributed three paragraphs on other Suriname- and Netherlands Antilles-related books. *'Kahe Gaile Bides': Where did you go? On Bhojpuri Migration Since the 1870s and Contemporary Culture in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Suriname and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2010, cloth US\$ 39.95), edited by Mousumi Majumder, is a "resource book" of the 2005-2007 Bidesia project, which documented the common cultural heritage of Bhojpuri Indians, Surinamese Hindustani, and Dutch Hindustani. Historical texts, personal stories, anecdotes, songs, poems, and photographs document migration history, culture and diaspora, religion and folk culture, music, language, food, dress, jewelry, and the contemporary dialogue between India, Suriname, and the Netherlands. Anil Ramdas, a descendant of the Indian diaspora who passed away in February 2012, published his first novel, *Badal* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2011, paper €19.90). But is it really a novel? It seems like a thinly disguised autobiography of a young ambitious Surinamese migrant trying to make it in the bigoted world of Dutch journalism. It is also a pamphlet against the current social and cultural climate in the Netherlands, including the "white trash" supporting Islamophobic politician Geert Wilders. *Dubbelspel*, Frank Martinus Arion's 1973 novel about four domino players in Curaçao (and a classic in both Dutch-Antillean and Dutch literature, having sold more than 100,000 copies), has finally been translated into Papiamentu as *Changá* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2011, paper €24.50).

Commemorating the dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles, *De gouverneurs van de Nederlandse Antillen sinds 1815*, edited by Gert Oostindie (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011, cloth €29.95) portrays the thirty governors of the Dutch islands since 1815. In *De oliekring: Hugo Chávez en de beloftes van zijn Latijns-Amerikaanse revolutie* (Amsterdam: Podium, 2011, paper €17.50), journalist Edwin Koopman, who has been visiting Venezuela since 1999, sketches his gradual shift from sympathy for Chávez to concern about the president's dictatorial tendencies. One of the six chapters in this well-written volume is on Venezuela's precarious relationship with Curaçao and Aruba, where the United States has Forward Operating Locations.

The first theoretical chapters of J. Marten W. Schalkwijk's *The Colonial State in the Caribbean: Structural Analysis and Changing Elite Networks in Suriname, 1650-1920* (The Hague: Amrit/Amsterdam: NiNsee, 2010, paper €25.00) show that it is an almost unchanged version of his 1993 dissertation (Cornell University). Nevertheless, his analysis of elite networks in Suriname in 1795, 1830, 1860, 1890, and 1920 is a welcome contribution to Suriname's historiography. Finally, *Postkoloniale monumenten in Nederland/Postcolonial monuments in the Netherlands* by Gert Oostindie, Henk Schulte Nordholt & Fridus Steijlen (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011, cloth €19.50) presents forty post-war memorials (seven on the Caribbean) reflecting the Dutch colonial past. The photographs, by Eveline Kooijman, are also available on Flickr.

Several concerning history. *Transatlantic Slavery: An Introduction*, by Richard Benjamin & David Fleming (Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, 2010, paper US\$ 19.95), is a brief, heavily illustrated introduction (for middle school students? for adults who know nothing about the trade and its effects? the audience is never specified) that mirrors the storyline of Liverpool's International Slavery Museum, which opened in 2007. Dr. William Hillary's *Observations on the Changes of the Air and the Concomitant Epidemical Diseases in the Island of Barbadoes, 1752-1758*, edited and annotated by J. Edward Hutson & Henry S. Fraser (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 65.00), presents the work of this epidemiological (and meteorological) pioneer. *Guyane: Histoire & Mémoire. La Guyane au temps de l'esclavage, discours, pratiques et représentations*, edited by Jean-Pierre Bacot & Jacqueline Zonzon (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2011, paper €40.00), weighs in at nearly 600 pages and collects the diverse proceedings of a 2010 colloquium in Cayenne, its most useful chapter being a summary by Marie Polderman of that portion of the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database that concerns Guyane. *Enseigner l'histoire dans la Caraïbe des années 1880 au début du XXIe siècle: Fragmentations, influences, perspectives*, edited by Dominique Taffin (Fort de France: Société des Amis des Archives, 2010, paper €22.00), presents the proceedings of a 2007 symposium that includes more than twenty papers, the majority on Martinique and the other French dependencies but with contributions on Puerto Rico, St. Kitts, Cuba, and elsewhere. Finally, *Readings in Caribbean History and Culture: Breaking Ground*, edited By D.A. Dunkley (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2011, cloth US\$ 80.00), gathers eleven quite diverse essays by mostly young Caribbeanists – why they are published as a package remains unclear. *Caribbean History: From Pre-Colonial Origins to the Present* (Upper Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall, 2012, paper US\$ 44.00), by Tony Martin, is an undergraduate textbook that emphasizes resistance and slavery (and leans especially heavily on Stedman's 1796 *Narrative*) in tracing an idiosyncratic but in some ways corrective history of the region.

Four on the arts. *Marcel Pinas: Artist more than an Artist* (Heijningen, the Netherlands: Jap Sam Books, 2011, cloth US\$ 49.95) is a beautifully illustrated overview of one of the Caribbean's most creative visual artists and rising stars. Essays in both English and Dutch by Rob Perrée, Alex van Stipriaan, and Christopher Cozier offer background on Pinas's efforts to "*kibri a kulturu*" (preserve the [Maroon and indigenous] culture) and provide context for his eclectic art, which ranges from a monument to the victims of the 1986 Moiwana massacre to outdoor installations of cloth-wrapped bottles, carved spoons, and vastly oversized tin lanterns to brightly colored paintings incorporating the symbols of the Ndyukas' Afaka script. (See the DVDs on YouTube for a glimpse of the way Pinas encourages others, especially school children, to participate in the process of making installation

art.) *Art Public: Une collection d'art contemporain en Guadeloupe*, edited by Naomi Beckwith & Yolanda Wood (Paris: Skira-Flammarion, 2010, cloth €35.00), is the trilingual (French, Spanish, English) catalogue for an exhibition initiated by the "Art Public" cooperative in Guadeloupe. The work (mainly two-dimensional) of sixteen current artists is featured through large-format full-color illustrations, critical essays, and summary biographies. *A Spirited Butterfly: A History of Fashion in Trinidad and Tobago* (Coconut Creek FL: Caribbean Studies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 60.00) is journalist Rosemary Stone's presentation of (mostly women's) fashion, from the clothing of recently emancipated slaves and indentured workers to the most recent innovations in T&T carnival costumes. Over a hundred full-color illustrations, many of models on runways, are complemented by essays on changes in the politics and business of fashion, with special attention to the second half of the twentieth century. Finally, a remarkable oversized work with riveting photos and spare text: Jean-Luc de Laguarigue's *Bagne AP*, bound with Patrick Chamoiseau's previously published *Traces-Mémoires du Bagne* (Gros Morne, Martinique: Editions Traces HSE, 2011, n.p.). Some of Guyane's overwhelming wildness, some of its iconic architecture, but mainly walls – especially the interior walls of the prison cells – captured as only Martinique's most gifted photographer can: art that speaks through the heavy silences of the past, truly memorable textures, colors, light and shadows. Paintings made with a lens.

Two on France's complex relations with blacks. Laurent Dubois's *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010, paper US\$ 18.95) interweaves the history of French football, politics, and, especially, domestic race relations by focusing on French football legends Zinedine Zidane (and his fateful 2006 *coup de boule*) and Lilian Thuram, but ranges widely, always with an upbeat, optimistic, strongly Francophile tilt, even when analyzing and exposing the depths of Gallic racism – a most engaging read. *La France noire: Trois siècles de présences*, edited by Pascal Blanchard (Paris: La Découverte, 2011, cloth €59.00), is a publication of ACHAC, a research group focused on colonization, immigration, and postcolonialism. Billed as what the French call a *beau-livre* (less text than pictures and attention to the aesthetics of design), it includes essays on such subjects as Négritude, immigration, and "the afro-antillian wave of 1957-1974." Blanchard also served as one of five editors (together with Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire) of another ACHAC publication, *Zoos humains et exhibitions coloniales* (Paris: La Découverte, 2011, paper €29.50). The release of this augmented re-edition of *Zoos humains: Au temps des exhibitions humaines* (2002, 2004) was timed to coincide with the opening of "Exhibitions: L'invention du sauvage" at the Musée du quai Branly, organized by "scientific curators" Pascal Blanchard and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep and "general curator" (whatever that

means) Lilian Thuram. This massive, 600-page volume includes essays by almost everyone in the field of colonial expositions and their related phenomena. The bibliography, well over 1600 entries, is surprisingly weak on books that deal with twentieth-century colonial exhibitions and their direct offshoots such as Richard Bauman & Patricia Sawin, *Reflections on the Folklife Festival* (1992), Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour* (2004), Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism* (2001), Robert J. Gordon, *Picturing Bushmen* (1997), Ivan Karp *et al.*, *Museum Frictions* (2006), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture* (1998), or Richard & Sally Price, *On The Mall* (1994). How could a 600-page book on this subject bring in Coco Fusco's late twentieth-century performance art but fail to discuss that classic essay by Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Maasai on the Lawn"!

Two linguistics books. *Gradual Creolization: Studies Celebrating Jacques Arends*, edited by Rachel Selbach, Hugo C. Cardoso, and Margot van den Berg (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009, cloth US\$ 158.00), includes several stimulating contributions on Suriname creoles (as well as studies in other world areas), some of which, such as that of Norval Smith on Saramaccan and Sranan, persuasively question Arends's gradualist hypothesis and opt, instead, for rapid (single-generation, seventeenth-century) creolization. In general, the volume offers a fine balance between technical linguistic and socio-historical argument. And *Atlas linguistique des Petites Antilles* (Vol. 1), by Jean Le Dû & Guylaine Brun-Trigaud (Paris, Editions du CTHS, 2011, paper €45.00), presents the results of a linguistic survey of word-use variation (based on a questionnaire comprised of 467 lexical items) in French-based Creole at various places in Saint-Martin, Guadeloupe, Dominica, and Martinique.

And a lone cookbook. *Tastes Like Home: My Caribbean Cookbook* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011, paper US\$ 34.95) publishes selections from Cynthia Nelson's weekly column in Guyana's *Stabroek News*. Essays on the cultural context of particular foods and dishes are nicely complemented by recipes and glossy photos. But is it really necessary (for example) to take two full pages for a relatively simple dish like coucou or to specify that in order to cook dhal you'll need to have on hand "water to cook the peas"?

We next list those books for which we were unable to find a willing reviewer (sometimes after four or five tries):

Afro-Caribbean Poetry and Ritual, by Paul A. Griffith (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, cloth US\$ 80.00)

Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions, by Jane G. Landers (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 31.50)

Conversations with Paule Marshall, edited by James C. Hall & Heather Hathaway (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010, cloth US\$ 40.00)

Cuban Fiestas, by Roberto González Echevarría (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 36.00)

Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change in Latin America and the Caribbean, by Jakob Kronik & Dorte Verner (Washington DC: World Bank Publications, 2010, paper US\$ 35.00)

Latino Urban Ethnography and the Work of Elena Padilla, edited by Mérida M. Rúa (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010, paper US\$ 22.00)

Reducing Poverty, Protecting Livelihoods, and Building Assets in a Changing Climate: Social Implications of Climate Change in Latin America and the Caribbean, edited by Dorte Verner (Washington DC: World Bank Publications, 2010, paper US\$ 45.00)

Rethinking Puerto Rican Precolonial History, by Reniel Rodriguez Ramos (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010, paper US\$ 29.95)

There are a number of titles that we have noticed but neither examined nor requested for review. We list them here for our readers' information:

CARICOM: Policy Options for International Engagement, edited by Kenneth O. Hall & Myrtle Chuck-A-Sang (Kingston & Miami: Ian Randle, 2010, paper US\$ 40.00)

Change, by Kenwyn M. Taylor (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 2011, cloth US\$ 149.95)

Charismatic Crisis-Prone Caribbean Leaders of our Era, by Willie James (Raleigh NC: Ivy House Publishing Group, 2011, paper US\$ 24.99)

Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez & Rafael Fernández de Castro (London: Routledge, 2010, paper US\$ 36.95)

Cuba: Issues, Trends, and Outlook, edited by Amy M. Sheehan & Jeremy P. Dalton (Hauppauge NY: Nova Science, 2011, cloth US\$ 195.00)

Dynamiques d'émancipation caribéenne dans la littérature et les arts, edited by Nicole Ollier (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011, paper €23.00)

How Caribbean Political Leaders Successfully Managed Needed Economic, Entrepreneurial, and Social Adjustments, 1981-1995: The Importance of Understanding all the Factors Affecting The Legacy of Walter Rodney in Guyana and the Caribbean, by Arnold Gibbons (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2011, paper US\$ 33.50)

Les jésuites en Guyane française sous l'ancien régime (1498-1768), by Régis Verwimp (Matoury, Guyane : Ibis Rouge, 2011, paper €30.00)

Racial Ethnic Imbalance in Guyana Public Bureaucracies: The Tension Between Exclusion and Representation, by Prem Misir (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 109.95)

Sociologists and Social Progress: How Defeating Narratives Affect U.S. and Caribbean Sociological Academies, by O. Alexander Miller (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2011, cloth US\$ 60.00)

Tourism and Agriculture: New Geographies of Consumption, Production and Rural Restructuring, edited by Rebecca Maria Torres & Janet Henshall Momsen (London: Routledge, cloth US\$ 140.00)

Towards Marine Ecosystem-Based Management in the Wider Caribbean, edited by Lucia Fanning, Robin Mahon & Patrick McConney (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 49.95)

Vilma Espín: La flor más universal de la Revolución cubana, by Ligia Trujillo Aldama (México, D.F.: Ocean Sur, 2010, paper US\$ 12.95). This is a biography of Raul Castro's wife (underground activist, guerrilla fighter, leader of the Cuban Revolution, and founder of the Cuban women's movement) who died of cancer in 2007.

Finally, we received two new editions that deserve mention: *America's Virgin Islands: A History of Human Rights and Wrongs*, by William Boyer (Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010, paper US\$ 32.00), and *Haiti: A Shattered Nation*, by Elizabeth Abbott (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2011, cloth US\$ 35.00), an updated edition of her 1988 book, *The Duvaliers and their Legacy*.

And there's a welcome, expanded version of the *Journal of American Folklore's* 2003 issue on creolization: *Creolization as Cultural Creativity*, edited by Robert Baron & Ana C. Cara (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011, cloth US\$ 60.00), including stimulating new pieces by, among others, Kenneth Bilby and Michel Dash.

BOOK REVIEWS

The African Diaspora: A History Through Culture. PATRICK MANNING. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. xxii + 394 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.50)

JOSEPH C. MILLER

Department of History

University of Virginia

Charlottesville VA 22904, U.S.A.

<jcm7a@cms.mail.virginia.edu>

Patrick Manning offers a strong and promising vision to overcome the conventional exclusion from history's macro-narrative of Africans and peoples of African descent around the world. The modern historical discipline is implicitly (and often explicitly) framed around the nation-state, grand political scale, military conquests, and costly monumental construction. Indeed, beyond Hegel's metaphysical faith in progressive western civilization, and his specific exclusion of Africa from history construed in these limiting terms, the professional discipline itself took shape in the nineteenth century as handmaiden of the consolidation of the modern – and profoundly militaristic – nation-state in Europe and throughout the Americas. The era was also heir to the abolitionist campaigns against maritime slaving and to emancipation movements central to creating several of the new nation-states. Indeed, the egalitarianism enshrined in national constitutions proclaimed the "nations" of ethnic, and in extreme cases, racial homogeneity. Of course, the virulence with which the custodians of these homogeneous "nations" asserted this illusory ideology was a direct and calculated contradiction of the extreme diversity of the older communities living in all of the territorial spaces thus defined as "states." The newly emancipated citizens of African descent living in them all but disappeared in the glare of triumphal national identities asserted in narrowly Victorian, male, militaristic senses. Women had to fight to be included, and more recent European immigrants to the Americas were invited to assimilate to these national norms. The populations of African descent in the Americas, in Europe, and in parts of Asia sank without a trace below the surface of history-as-narrative-of-nation; Africa itself was understood primarily in terms of colonies defined as extensions of European nation-states.

Although in the last half century Africa and the populations of African descent elsewhere in the world have become subjects of widespread historical attention, and also as anthropological understandings of them have shifted from exoticizing them as “different” to incorporating them into general models of human behavior, the western social sciences still struggle to transcend their own essential modernity and its implicit favoring of the kings, presidents, generals, and empires and the nation-states for which they are made to stand. Africanists like Manning accordingly struggle to find a place for Africans in the prevailing politico-military macronarrative of the discipline, and their marginality becomes an even more acute problem for world historians, which Manning also is, who strive for inclusiveness on global scales. Most resign themselves to the add-and-stir approach, featuring “kingdoms” in Africa and militant resisters elsewhere, paragons all of the political and military tones of their discipline. But this reactive mode inherently fails, since it retains history’s eurocentric celebration of destructive power and, in the end, has to acknowledge that Africa was conquered militarily and that people of African descent elsewhere were excluded and dominated in political terms until, at least in some cases, very recently.

Although world historians are not unaware of this dilemma, Manning’s “history through culture” makes the first significant move to offer an alternative at this epistemological level: suppose, he asks, we understood people in the cultural terms, the communities, in which most of them live most of their lives and that frame the ways in which they end up acting politically or militarily, or not. Further, we understand cultures as comparable in the valid meanings that they channel for those who live in them. No one culture is superior to any other in an absolute sense, however varied the specific strategies that they facilitate may be. In this “history through culture,” the macro-narrative starts with a history of Africans creating viable ways of getting on in Africa, on their own, all appropriate to the historical contexts of the people who created them. The usual afro-victimizing components of the politico-military macro-narrative – the slave trade, domination in slavery, European conquests in Africa, subordination to colonial rule in Africa and racial exclusion elsewhere, and more recently allegedly failed nation-states and deep government indebtedness – in Manning’s book become the challenging contexts that Africans and their global progeny have not only met but have also transcended to infuse the world’s cultures with their own distinctive contributions. In spite of all the efforts to exclude Africans politically, the world’s populations have embraced vibrant African and Afro-derived cultural styles as if they offered a welcome sense of relief from the homogeneity, sterility, and anonymity of modernity.

Manning thus arrives at five general periods, beginning with (1) a largely autonomously African background focused on the ideal of what he calls “service to the community,” with added emphasis on Africa’s long history before 1600 of connections with the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean rim. The

Portuguese, active since the 1440s along Africa's coasts, merely extended this older global presence, and even what Manning sees as a turn toward increasing hierarchy in Africa in the sixteenth century forms part of an apparent global age of empires. (2) The trauma of intensified slaving between 1600 and 1800 made this era one of "survival," both on the continent and under enslavement in the fast-growing diasporas in the Americas, in the Indian Ocean region, and in the Muslim Mediterranean; here readers will find quite a competent and comprehensive review of the many streams of recent scholarship on the subject. What followed was (3) a nineteenth century of "emancipation," starting with Usman dan Fodio's 1804 call to arms to protect the Muslims of what is now northern Nigeria from the slaving then growing in the region and ending with recognition of Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia as members of the community of modern nation-states then achieving definition, even if otherwise at the expense of colonial conquests in Africa. The modern nation-state in turn (4) frames the quest for "citizenship" in the first half of the twentieth century (precisely 1900-1960), with leadership accorded to Afro-Cubans, accents on African-Americans' growing cultural visibility in music, literature, and other cultural spheres outside of national politics, but countered by the political creativity and originality of nationalist leaders in Africa. With growing civil rights in the diaspora and independence in Africa, the last half century (5) has been an enfranchised quest for political "equality," though not without setbacks on the continent in public health, indebtedness, distortions of the promise of parliamentary regimes in Africa, and a western-toned global culture.

Readers may want to consider the extent to which Manning's metanarrative escapes the framework of the nation-state paradigmatic in the discipline. His narrative features movements of people across national boundaries to create a multinational diaspora and emphasizes economic swings of global proportions and the global reach of modern racism. The transnational mobility of many of the leading early twentieth-century Africans and afro-descendants – often unwelcome at home – certainly shows the value of setting people of notable mobility and adaptability in their full diasporic settings. Manning marshals an impressive range of people in Africa and abroad facing parallel problems and coming up with comparable solutions. But would he have told this history more through culture by featuring developments within the diasporic communities, or among Africans, rather than largely showing the engagements of the group as a whole with European military and political power, followed by global consumer culture?

The thoughtful coherence, accuracy, and great breadth of the book – not only geographically but also in the many fields of human endeavor and the different (and often technical) academic disciplines that it discusses knowledgeably – will surely make it a popular introduction to a vast range of scholarship, personalities, and issues in courses in all subfields of African-American studies; in that context it has the decided advantage of integrating

the often specialized field of African studies in terms accessible to novices. A considerable index will guide readers reliably to the numerous detailed specifics incorporated into the book. Manning is to be congratulated for yet another capacious, innovative contribution to our understanding of African and world history, as intricately embedded, each in the other, at every level.

Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. DAVID ELTIS & DAVID RICHARDSON.
New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2010. xxvi + 307 pp. (Cloth US\$ 50.00)

TED MARIS-WOLF
Department of History
University of Louisiana
Lafayette LA 70504, U.S.A.
<tedmw@louisiana.edu>

Toni Morrison's classic novel *Beloved* begins with an epigraph to the "Sixty Million and more" individuals who struggled to survive and overcome the dehumanizing institutions of transatlantic slave trading and New World slavery. Slave traders and owners did not simply steal the lives and labor of enslaved men, women, and children, but in the creativity, complexity, and scale of the horrors they devised, they committed one of the greatest crimes against humanity in history. How are we to imagine, understand, or teach horror on such a scale? How are we to conceptualize the forced migration and death of millions?

David Eltis and David Richardson's *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* is an extraordinary attempt to communicate the magnitude of Morrison's "Sixty Million and more" visually, based upon data gleaned from nearly 35,000 slave ship voyages from 1501 to 1867. In a manner that both specialists and nonacademic readers will find useful and powerful, the *Atlas* effectively conveys the scale and tragedy of more than 12.5 million Middle Passages experienced by individuals in their forced journeys across the Atlantic.

The *Atlas* marks the culmination of a decades-long effort by historians to accurately calculate the global scale of the transatlantic slave trade, including its organization, dynamics, and transformations through time. Since the late 1960s, scholars have disagreed over the numbers of Africans forced into the slave trade and the relevance of such numbers to understanding the experiences of men, women, and children who found themselves enslaved. This book is likely to settle many lingering questions concerning the nature and volume of the transatlantic slave trade and will likely spark a new generation

of studies that seeks to further transcend numbers and the mechanics of the trade to trace its human history.

The authors employ 189 maps that telescope through various Atlantic worlds of the slave trade with the goal of illustrating “the intercontinental connections between regions of slave embarkation, outfitting ports of slaving ships, and final destinations of captives” (p. xxv). Arrows of varying widths and colors stand in for ocean currents, vessels, and captives, depicting a horrific circulation of blood and treasure over a span of nearly four centuries. Eltis and Richardson have indeed produced the definitive record of “the geography and the underlying patterns of the largest forced oceanic migration of people in history” (p. xxvi).

The publication is also groundbreaking in that it signals an innovative relationship between print and digital media, as nearly all of its maps are the product of estimates drawn from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, an ever-evolving data set available on the *Voyages* website (www.slavevoyages.org). Scholars and students will find the *Atlas* to be a convenient starting point for conducting more specific, complicated, and up-to-date searches and queries on the constantly updated site.

The *Atlas* is divided into seven parts, each featuring a series of maps organized around a central theme. The introduction offers an overview of the transatlantic slave trade, including maps that depict the evolution of sugar cultivation from Asia to the Atlantic islands, Atlantic winds and ocean currents, as well as major regions in Europe, Africa, and the Americas in which slave voyages either were outfitted or landed. In addition, a full-page map charts the voyage of a single slave ship, the *Laurence Frigate*, which departed England in 1730 and returned one year later, after stops in Loango and Buenos Aires. In this way, readers can visualize the nature of the trade as it changed over time and place, the movement of ocean currents and their effect on navigation, and the itineraries of crews and captives as they navigated multiple Atlantic networks.

Parts I and II show the degree to which merchants based in European and American ports transported captives from Africa. Parts III and V depict links between Africans’ coastal origins and their destinations in the New World. Part IV illustrates the nature of the Middle Passage through the gender and age of enslaved individuals, their mortality, the length of slave voyages, the frequency of slave-ship revolts, and the linguistic identifications of various liberated Africans in the nineteenth century. Part VI documents the transatlantic trade during the abolitionist era, from the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries.

In addition to a collection of maps detailing aspects of the transatlantic trade, each section contains tables, quotations, and images that suggest ways in which the *Atlas* might be used in the classroom in conjunction with primary documents or images, such as those catalogued on *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record*.¹

1. Website <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/index.php>.

Eltis and Richardson have included poignant excerpts from slave traders' journals, slave narratives, court records, and contemporary political speeches and publications to help underscore the point that though the *Atlas* primarily displays the significance of numbers – concerning embarkations, disembarkations, mortality, voyage length, and shipboard revolts – a larger human story begins where the numbers leave off. Moreover, they acknowledge the limits of the *Atlas*, in that “it represents only a portion of the journey that these migrants were forced to undergo” (p. xxvi).

Eltis and Richardson have thus cleared the way for scholars who wish to push further the study of the slave trade in two key directions – toward documenting the organization and effects of slave-trading networks within Africa itself and uncovering the experiences of perhaps one-fifth of those who arrived in the New World as captives and were subsequently resold and reshipped through slave-trading circuits in the Americas. Definitive studies of these first and final legs of enslaved people's journeys through the transatlantic slave trade have yet to be written.

Indeed, a portion of Toni Morrison's “Sixty Million and more” appear in the *Atlas* in a way they never quite have before. Through grisly tentacles roping one continent to another, arrows on maps represent the passage of time and 12.5 million people – only 10.7 million of whom survived their forced Atlantic journey.

Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery. SEYMOUR DRESCHER. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xii + 471 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.99)

GREGORY E. O'MALLEY
Department of History
University of California, Santa Cruz
Santa Cruz CA 95064, U.S.A.
<gomalley@ucsc.edu>

In *Abolition*, Seymour Drescher argues powerfully for the importance of antislavery activism. Rejecting assertions of slave labor's inefficiency or its incompatibility with capitalist, industrialized economies, he insists that slavery died naturally virtually nowhere. It had to be killed by antislavery efforts. *Abolition* celebrates activism – ordinary people using moral suasion, association, the pen, the ballot, and their pocketbooks to undermine an insti-

tution they came to regard as evil. For readers familiar with Drescher's prior studies, this central claim will be familiar, but his scope here is broader. The view is global and spans five hundred years.

The book's first section lays a broad foundation, arguing that societies with slavery (or other severely coerced labor) were the norm in world history. From this context, Drescher draws insight on the foundations of African slavery in the Americas. He insists that Europeans were quite familiar with slavery before launching the transatlantic slave trade. With European sailors routinely enslaved by Barbary pirates and Slavic peoples falling prey to Ottoman slaveholders, "Europeans never felt more vulnerable to enslavement than when they were creating their novel variant of the institution in the New World" (p. 34). As a result, slavery was not clearly associated with any particular race in the minds of Europeans. It was simply a fate that befell unfortunate people in a harsh world; few questioned its legitimacy.

In Part Two, *Abolition* turns to crises for slavery spawned by the age of revolution. Chapters on the American, French, Haitian, and Latin American revolutions show slavery first facing challenges in northwestern European empires that deemed slavery incompatible with the motherland but acceptable for tropical colonies. Great Britain experienced this bifurcation after English courts refused to recognize slavery within Britain. France drew a similar line between "free" metropole and slave empire. The United States created a similar dynamic after its revolution, when some states turned away from slavery. Abolitionism emerged in the "free" pockets within such slaveholding polities, exerting pressure most effectively where thriving public spheres and representative politics encouraged public debate, especially in Britain and the United States.

Drescher demonstrates that despite such challenges, slavery weathered the storm of revolution more successfully than historians recognize. Although it lost some ground (most notably in northern North America and St. Domingue), expansion in other areas more than offset the losses. The American South imported more slaves after U.S. independence than northern states freed. Haitian independence triggered booming slave importations in rival colonies capitalizing on France's loss. At the end of the Age of Revolution, slavery was actually growing, if ideologically challenged.

In Part Three, Drescher turns to nineteenth-century emancipations, with chapters on British emancipation, British pressure on rival powers to follow suit, the U.S. sectional crisis, emancipations in Latin America, and the "delegalization" of slavery in European empires in Africa and Asia. Throughout he underscores the importance of active abolitionism and the tension created by free and slave regions in proximity to one another. For example, once activists pressured the British Empire to abandon slavery, free labor proved less productive, so Britain had a powerful incentive to pressure other powers to emancipate. In Brazil, Drescher argues, vocal opposition to slavery only emerged once slaves became overwhelmingly concentrated

in coffee-producing regions. Abolitionism then emerged in Brazil's "free" regions, which offered refuge to escaping slaves, creating tensions similar to the antebellum United States.

Part Four turns to the twentieth century with a puzzling section on European "reversion" to unfree labor. Drescher examines the Soviet gulag and Nazi "racial slavery," but the parallels with the rest of the book are tenuous. Rather than defining enslaved people as private property, gulags and Nazi camps saw totalitarian governments force people to work for the state. If these unfree labor systems deserve a place in the book, surely numerous others did too, such as convict labor arrangements, certain forms of military conscription, or modern human trafficking. Inclusion of gulags is particularly puzzling since Russian serfdom is not discussed, even though that unfree labor system coincided with African slavery, defined people as private property, and experienced a contemporaneous abolition. Furthermore, neither gulags nor Nazi labor camps faced popular antislavery opposition. In fact, Drescher argues that Soviet leaders abandoned the gulag because it was not cost effective – an argument counter to his thesis. As a result, Part Four feels like a diversion.

Nonetheless, the core arguments of *Abolition* are compelling. Drescher makes a powerful argument against the claim (of Eric Williams and others) that African slavery in the Americas died for economic reasons. The book's global lens strengthens his case, revealing that slave emancipations often caused economic stagnation for the emancipating region, offset by growth in competing regions that still exploited slaves. "As antislavery spread from one area to another, the institution showed no sign of faltering as a system, which could successfully compete with any alternative labor system that replaced it." Given that abiding strength, Drescher concludes that "antislavery, whether violent or nonviolent, had to be formidable" (p. 458). Abolitionists had to overcome powerful economic incentives for continuing enslavement.

While emphasizing the importance of abolitionism, Drescher downplays the impact of enslaved people's resistance. Rebellious slaves only undermined the institution where outside forces created vulnerabilities. For example, slaves only successfully rebelled in St. Domingue after the French Revolution destabilized the colony and invading British and Spanish forces promised freedom in exchange for military cooperation; fleeing slaves in the U.S. or Brazilian South only destabilized the institution once abolitionism created pockets of freedom where antislavery activists sheltered runaways. This line of argument will surely expose Drescher to criticism, but it should not be interpreted as demeaning enslaved peoples. On the contrary, his argument helps explain why massive rebellions were not more commonly successful. The deck was stacked against enslaved people, forcing them to pick moments to rebel carefully. If one argues that bold slaves could undermine the institution at any time, the necessary corollary is that most slaves lacked the nerve to resist. Seen in that light, Drescher's argument implies that most

slaves lacked not the nerve to overturn slavery, but rather the opportunity – an opening often created by abolitionism.

More problematic is Drescher's insistence that British antislavery (easily the most powerful movement) was not motivated by shame at the loss of Britain's North American colonies. With an eye turned critically toward Christopher L. Brown and Robin Blackburn, Drescher insists that "British abolitionism ... was neither an attempt to resuscitate Britain's threatened image as the torchbearer of liberty in comparison with the new American republic nor a direct response to heightened internal class conflict." Instead, by 1787 (when abolitionism suddenly emerged) Britain "was reveling in its prosperity, security, and power," so abolitionism was motivated purely by moral outrage (p. 212). While Drescher makes a strong case for abolitionists' moral concern, he fails to explain their timing. After centuries of slaveholding, why was it so suddenly repugnant to the British public? That is the central question posed by Brown – *why then?* Drescher's argument that Britain's humiliating defeat in the American Revolution was a distant memory just four years after the Treaty of Paris is hardly compelling. He suggests that British newspapers' mocking reports of American futility in freeing their enslaved sailors from Barbary pirates in 1787 revealed British "self-satisfaction," not anxiety about Americans (p. 213). Perhaps so, but that desire to feel superior to their former colonies also hints that the recent defeat still stung. In any case, genuine moral outrage over slavery is not incompatible with Britons seeking to feel morally righteous in the wake of U.S. independence. Antislavery offered an opportunity to showcase British morality (however sincere) for the world. Drescher rejects a powerful argument that actually meshes nicely with his.

While discussing criticisms of a largely successful book, it is worth noting that *Abolition* is, unfortunately, replete with typographical errors. Academic publishing has long seen decreasing editorial oversight, but here basic copy-editing fell short. Most errors are simple – omissions of single words (such as a sentence beginning "Brazilian slave trade reached..." instead of "*The* Brazilian slave trade reached..." [p. 204]) or mistakes of agreement (such as "both possibility" instead of "both possibilities" [p. 230]). Other errors are more confusing – a discursive footnote that repeats several sentences twice (p. 207, n. 4), and some truly unintelligible sentences, such as one that begins: "The absence of any indigenous their own colonies uprising in prompted the British government to" (p. 225). Mistakes happen, but dozens of them litter these pages, impeding readability.

Criticisms aside, *Abolition* offers a sweeping, comprehensive study of the uneven rise of antislavery. Drescher weaves together disparate stories of campaigns against unfree labor on five continents to form one compelling narrative. In the process, he makes a strong case for global histories that transcend national or regional paradigms and for the ability of ordinary people to influence the course of history. The implied message is that humanitarian activism is necessary, effective, and important – a welcome message indeed.

Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World. ROSEMARY BRANA-SHUTE & RANDY J. SPARKS (eds.). Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009. viii + 397 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

MATTHEW MASON
Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo UT 84602, U.S.A.
<matthew_mason@byu.edu>

As this volume's editors point out, "despite the outpouring of scholarly work on the institution of slavery over the past several decades, manumission ... has not received the same scholarly attention" (p. vii). Like other understudied themes, manumission may not seem as dramatic to researchers and readers, but it illustrates vital aspects of the history of slavery. This collection makes a strong case for the centrality of manumission to that history, and views it through a wide comparative focus.

In a bracing lead chapter that – curiously enough – provides a better synthetic overview of the process of manumission and of the book's concerns than Robin Blackburn's less challenging "Introduction," Orlando Patterson argues that "manumission – far from being a termination or undermining of slavery – became in most cases an integral part of the system of slavery" (p. 20). He also pursues the "conceptual and ideological problems" (p. 15) raised by the process of turning a slave, as victim of social death, into a free person.

The book's argument for Patterson's first point is more convincing than for the second. His own essay elegantly explores in theoretical terms why "manumission had little to do with the abolition of slavery" (p. 20). Subsequent chapters highlight how consistently low manumission numbers were as compared to the overall slave population. They also demonstrate how slaveholders across time and space used the promise or possibility of manumission to bolster the institution of slavery by providing an incentive to work and loyalty, and (with the curious and revealing exception of Virginia masters in the early national period, as pointed out by Eva Sheppard Wolf) to secure the loyalty of the freedpeople despite the often limited nature of the freedom they granted to them.

One effect of this argument is to turn the extraordinarily durable interpretation of Frank Tannenbaum on its head. Tannenbaum pointed to the greater access to manumission in Iberian than in English colonies, and in West Indian than in Britain's North American colonies, as evidence of a more beneficent regime in the former. But if we accept the thrust of this volume, we should see the slaveholders and legislators in the Iberian and West Indian colonies in these couplets as more efficient and calculating, not more humane.

Gender is a major theme of the book, which is unsurprising given the common association of manumission with interracial sex (an association that the book's cover illustration, a portrait of a scantily clad black woman, trades on). But Rosemary Brana-Shute provides an interesting corrective to this association which is also a corollary to the book's overall stress on the small numbers of manumissions. That association assumes "that a white man having sex with a black or colored enslaved woman was so extraordinary as to induce him to manumit her in gratitude. There is no reason to assume that sexual intimacy was such a rare and idealized prize ... anywhere in the Atlantic world" (p. 184). Given this, the low rates of manumission meant that "those of mixed race who were freed were always a small minority of those who remained in slavery" (p. 185). Thus, while "women constituted the large majority of those freed ... the reason seems to be not so much a question of sex as of gender" (p. 190).

But while the volume's downplaying of manumission numbers receives rich discussion and strong support throughout, Patterson's dilemma surrounding slaves exiting social death inserts an internal tension into the book. For other contributors highlight not manumission as a "gift" (p. 17) from master to slave, but slaves' agency in securing manumissions. Debra G. Blumenthal shows us slaves in late medieval Valencia "who were able to take their masters to court and successfully demand their liberty" (p. 63), as does Keila Grinberg for Brazil. Scott Hancock shows us slaves in British North America petitioning for their freedom and owning property (p. 266), and Eric Burin illuminates the choices slaves in the United States had when their masters sought to persuade them to accept freedom and go to Liberia. "If they were the 'social dead,'" as Grinberg puts it, "no slave would have been able to behave" in this fashion (p. 232). As provocative and valuable as Patterson's opening salvos are, then, in this particular case there is a contradiction between his theoretical discussion and the on-the-ground realities revealed in the chapters that follow.

The editors put the volume together so well that little room is left for quibbling. They provided a nice mix of the very leading names in the field and up-and-coming scholars. Their choice of contributors also led to a laudably wide comparative lens, ranging throughout the Atlantic world, to rural as well as urban spaces, and from late medieval times through the mid-nineteenth century. The inclusion of a chapter by Scott Hancock on the northern states in the early national United States is the only case in which the desire for broad reach let in a chapter that might not fully belong, given that it pertains to the aftermath of state-mandated emancipation rather than manumission. But again, there is not much to complain about in this thought-provoking volume. My own hope is that it will get the attention it deserves and thus help shine a light on this vital element of the global and Atlantic history of human bondage.

You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery.
JEREMY D. POPKIN. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xv + 422 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.99)

PHILIPPE R. GIRARD
Department of History
McNeese State University
Lake Charles LA 70609-2860, U.S.A.
<girard@mcneese.edu>

This meticulously researched work covers the years 1792-1794 in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) and France, most notably the tenure of the French commissioners Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel; the June 20, 1793 infighting in Cap François that led to the destruction of the city; Sonthonax's August 1793 emancipation proclamation; and the Convention's February 1794 emancipation law that confirmed and expanded Sonthonax's proclamation. Public awareness of these momentous events has increased in recent years, but actual scholarly research has tended to be superficial despite the existence of a wealth of materials (Popkin draws heavily from the vast D XXV series in the French Archives Nationales, among others). This historiographical oversight has left us with two competing, but largely unproven, narratives. One starts with the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and sees universal emancipation as the logical culmination of French revolutionary ideals. The other begins with the 1791 slave revolt and views the emancipation law as the response to a three-year struggle for liberty on the part of Saint-Domingue's black population.

Popkin's thesis is that neither explanation is consistent with the historical record. French revolutionaries generally paid little attention to colonial matters, preferring to defer to conservative planters rather than risk losing a valuable colony. This point was underscored by Yves Bénot as early as 1987 in *La révolution française et la fin des colonies*, but Popkin uncovers much new supporting evidence. The great emancipator Sonthonax initially went to Saint-Domingue to crush the slave revolt; the radical Robespierre was meeting with conservative colonial lobbyists just as the Convention was abolishing slavery; the abolitionist Grégoire initially described the law of emancipation as "disastrous" because it was too sudden (pp. 86, 354, 365).

Popkin is equally revisionist in his description of Saint-Domingue's black and mixed-race leaders, most of whom had not yet embraced universal emancipation by 1793, in part because many were slave-owners and -traders (pp. 94, 135). Even after Sonthonax proclaimed emancipation, most rebels

(Toussaint Louverture included) refused to join the French revolutionary camp (pp. 252, 275). Urban slaves were even more equivocal (p. 68). Much of this information has already been mentioned in other venues, notably by David Geggus, but Popkin lays out the evidence in a clear and comprehensive fashion, particularly when it comes to the instinctive royalism and religiosity that were central to the worldview of African-born rebels (p. 282).

The emancipation process, Popkin argues convincingly, resulted from a third, distinct dynamic: a series of urban riots between French officials, white colonists, and free people of color over the issues of colonial autonomy and racial equality. After describing the complex, explosive politics of Cap François, Popkin gives an intricately detailed account of the fighting of June 20-24, 1793 that pitted supporters of Sonthonax and Polverel against those of the newly-appointed governor, François-Thomas Galbaud. The fighting, which initially involved no slave rebels, stemmed from issues of precedence, not ideology. (Galbaud, contrary to popular belief, was a solid Republican.) But military expediency forced the embattled Sonthonax to make an appeal to the black population, thus starting a chain of events that directly led to the February 1794 law of emancipation. None of this was pre-ordained or even predictable, so Popkin makes a case for “accidental” history – a history that does not proceed logically toward a discernable goal but rather swerves erratically based on the outcome of a street fight, an individual’s competing priorities, or, in Galbaud’s case, stupidity (p. 386). The implications for the general practice of history, still dominated by the Hegelian model, are evident.

Popkin, a professor of History at the University of Kentucky, spent most of his career studying the French Revolution until he switched his focus to its Haitian counterpart. His background is apparent as he regularly draws parallels with contemporary French developments, most notably when he describes the events of June 20, 1793 as a “*journée*” (p. 2). Analyzing the Haitian Revolution within the framework of French revolutionary politics is a valid approach with a long history, but it often leads Popkin to focus almost entirely on a white set of characters, a penchant already noticeable in his *Facing Racial Revolution* (2008). French-born administrators did play the leading role in the June 20 *journée* and the subsequent process of legal emancipation – this is the book’s main thesis – but one may regret that Popkin does not spend more time on individuals like the rebel leaders Pierrot and Macaya, who along with their followers tipped the scales that day, or the free black Jean-Baptiste Belley, who led free-colored troops during the fighting and later joined the three-man commission that convinced the Convention to abolish slavery.

The rank-and-file plantation workers who were the intended beneficiaries of the emancipation controversy are also largely absent from the narrative. Popkin presents in detail the intricate legal clauses meant to preserve plantation agriculture by subjecting freedmen to semi-free “cultivator” status (p. 271), but he quickly glosses over an important fact: the freedmen simply

ignored these regulations. With the plantation system collapsing from the bottom up, the elite debate over emancipation was thus somewhat moot. Popkin does concede that Sonthonax and Polverel had no effective control over much of the colony (p. 284) and that rebel leaders had already set up a parallel economy in the areas they controlled (p. 128). Extended passages, drawing from the works of Pierre Pluchon and Robert Lacerte and tying France's theoretical debates over emancipation to the rapid decline of the plantation system and the lives of the plantation workers, would have made a solid book even better.

Fighting for Honor: The History of African Martial Arts in the Atlantic World. T.J. DESCH OBI. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008. xvii + 347 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

FLÁVIO GOMES

Graduate Program in History

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro, 20.000-000, Brazil

<escravo@prolink.com.br>

ANTONIO LIBERAC CARDOSO SIMÕES PIRES

History Department

Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia

Cachoeira Bahia 44000.000, Brazil

<liberac@mail.uft.edu.br>

Translated by H. Sabrina Gledhill

Africas were invented in various Atlantic spaces. There is a long tradition of studies that underscore the colonial and postcolonial dimensions of these Atlantic recreations, ruptures, transformations, and continuities. How were complex experiences and processes involving multifarious peoples and micro-societies – in *Americas*, *Europes*, and *Africas* – interconnected? Borders were blurred, combining and recreating political, social, cultural, linguistic, religious, economic and other experiences. Recent studies of slaveocracies have focused on the identities and cultures of Africans and their descendants in the Americas. Their varied approaches are accompanied by a rich debate –

both academic and political – that brings together scholars of slavery in the Americas and pre-colonial African societies. One of the central questions has been the analysis of the senses and meanings of the diaspora and its links with various African societies. This includes analyses of the cultural dimensions in circulation in the Atlantic world, where ethnic groups from vast regions were not only *enslaved*, but *Africanized* in a process of resocialization with complex communities and material cultures. Spaces emerged in the diaspora involving Africans with diverse identities who reinvented practices and meanings, such as ways of dressing their hair, wearing clothes, preparing food, and burying the dead. As a result, the beliefs, memories (and their use), and customs of the people who endured the Middle Passage might not necessarily have disappeared amid the experiences of slavery and emancipation. But how and when did they reemerge in countless scenarios involving adaptations of ethnic resources, the social world, and ideologies?

In this regard, T.J. Desch Obi's *Fighting for Honor* is a very welcome book. Based on admirable research – including an Africanist bibliography as well as one on slavery in the Americas and archival investigations in Luanda, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Paris, London, etc. – Obi delves into the Black Atlantic. He does not just surf the waves of a superficial Afrocentric view; and it would be an unfair simplification – after reading this dense study – merely to emphasize that his chosen theoretical and methodological course harks back to the idea of the *continuity* of African culture in the diaspora. The fact is that he broadens the analysis, and makes it more sophisticated, by seeking the connections of the Atlantic *kalunga* who would adapt African cultural traditions, martial techniques, dances, instruments, and rhythms on the other side of the ocean. He takes his readers on an analytical journey through the recreated African martial arts, from the African *kalenda* and *engolo* to *ladja* and the *jogo da Capoeiragem*. We revisit capoeira and other martial arts in the diaspora in all their connections, inventions, and readaptations. Thus, Obi retraces routes, characters, and settings, finding agency and significance in cultural uses and meanings. We are taken to the hinterlands of southern Angola, the shores of the Bight of Biafra, and the islands of the French Antilles, going as far as the streets and narrow alleyways of Rio de Janeiro. Always viewed from the African dimension, practices invent characters in different contexts. The Africanist part of this study – an aspect that is limited in numerous studies that have attempted to analyze the cultures of slavery in the Americas – is of high quality, displaying an up-to-date bibliography and a multidisciplinary approach. Obi points out concentrations of certain African peoples in some areas to analyze forms of ancestrality and traditions, as well as cultural adaptations.

In recent decades, the study of African martial arts in the diaspora has made great strides, particularly now that capoeira is practiced on every continent. The globalization of that practice has given rise to many studies that

focus on its African roots and control of narratives focused on its past, tradition, and leading figures. In Brazil – the original Atlantic shore of that practice and the point of exportation of its cultural values – there have been countless studies of capoeira in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, and education. The greatest contributions have come from research by Carlos Eugênio Líbano Soares, among others. Obi's book references this tradition of research in Brazil, although it does not provide a detailed review of contributions that have arisen in academic theses in the past few years. Although capoeira has been analyzed as an urban phenomenon of Atlantic slavery, we still know little about it in areas like Recife, São Luís, and even Porto Alegre, where thousands of Africans disembarked between the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Although it emerged in urban areas of the Atlantic, we do not know why capoeira did not spread into plantation areas of the slaveholding southeastern region, where there was a massive African presence until 1860. Also, the experiences of capoeira at the dawn of the nineteenth century are well charted only in Rio de Janeiro; we know nothing about Salvador and Recife during that period. How did the practice of capoeira spread? We know more about how it was suppressed. Was the phenomenon identical – in terms of instruments, music, and corporeal expression – in different places, with different people involved? Certainly there were several types of capoeira that were diversely interpreted – less standardized – depending on the players and contexts throughout the post-emancipation period and the development of the concept of popular culture. In short, studies of the martial arts like capoeira in the diaspora can be a window through which to view the narratives and meanings of the origins, symbols, and practices of Atlantic diaspora cultures.

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Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850. FREDERICK C. KNIGHT. New York: New York University Press, 2010. 229 + xi pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.00)

WALTER HAWTHORNE
Department of History
Michigan State University
East Lansing MI 48824, U.S.A.
<walterh@msu.edu>

In this provocative study, Frederick Knight seeks new ground in a debate over the application of African knowledge to colonial American agricultural production (for a summary, see Hawthorne 2010:137-72). Most of the contributors to this debate focus on rice. Noting that rice was grown in parts of Africa before the rise of Atlantic slavery, scholars have asked whether Africans contributed more than labor to New World rice regimes. Knight's view is clear. "The rice fields of colonial South Carolina and elsewhere in the Americas resulted from the expertise that West Africans brought across the Atlantic, leading planters to actively seek out slaves from the Senegambia ..., commonly known ... for yielding people experienced in rice cultivation" (p. 62). Knight then extends this thesis, arguing that African knowledge was important in British colonial artisanal production and for the success of a number of other cash crops.

The greatest strength of *Working the Diaspora* is that it is one of few books about American slavery to take Africa seriously. The first two chapters provide an overview of material life in West Africa. Here Knight examines an array of crops produced in the Old World – sugar, maize, millet, rice, yams, and more. He then demonstrates how Africans labored over many of the same crops in the New. He also explores Africa's artisanal traditions, including metal work, cloth making, and pottery production, and points to places in America where slaves did similar things. The book includes a detailed chapter on tobacco and cotton and one on indigo and concludes with a tangential chapter about African views of the natural world.

Most impressive is Knight's chapter on indigo. In the eighteenth century, South Carolina became a supplier of the dye to Britain. An accepted view has been that Africans knew little about the plant. Knight, however, demonstrates the absurdity of this way of thinking. Indigo was, indeed, found in several parts of Africa, and some African groups had highly technical processes for making dye. The way in which indigo was cultivated and processed in British colonies and Africa diverged in several ways. But this does not mean that African knowledge was unimportant in America, since, as Knight shows, Africans adapted knowledge in a very different setting.

Unfortunately, the adaptation and creation of knowledge is not a theme that Knight pursues consistently. Indeed, with most crops he tends more toward an argument that African "knowledge systems" were transplanted from one place to another, the American "agriculture scene" emerging as one that "resembled West Africa" (p. 85). Here Knight overreaches. Though many African fieldwork and crop processing techniques were reproduced in America, African and American agricultural systems were quite different because Africans, Europeans, and Indians adapted existing knowledge and created new techniques in colonial settings – places dominated politically by white folk, who controlled others by exercising extreme brutality.

Though readers will take much away from *Working the Diaspora*, it is lacking in a few areas. First, Knight never produces evidence that planters "sought out" Senegambians for their knowledge of rice – or Africans from other regions for supposed skill sets. Had Senegambians been valued for their knowledge, slave pricing would have reflected it. But it did not. What planters wanted was healthy, strong, young adults. They did not much care what part of Africa they came from. It was, after all, geopolitics and winds and currents – and not planter choice – that determined what parts of America and Africa were connected.

Second, Knight often describes generalized "Africans" arriving in British colonies with "African knowledge" of a variety of crops. This is akin to describing Americans as a people who know how to make cars. That's true, but the vast majority of us – even here in Michigan – don't. Yes, some Africans harvested indigo, and some grew tobacco. But indigo was not processed everywhere and tobacco cultivation on a large scale was not common on the continent. Knight never establishes with any certainty that slaves on rice, cotton, indigo, and tobacco plantations in British colonies came from places that produced these crops.

Third, Knight writes that early sugar production in Barbados "would not have been completely alien" to arriving African slaves (p. 54). However, it is extremely unlikely that many Africans knew much about sugar production, plantings being scattered and not generally significant. Since sugar was the crop over which most Africans labored in the Americas, is it the case that the application of African knowledge to cash crop production was rare?

Finally, *Working the Diaspora* left me wondering why Africans would volunteer their knowledge to a planter class that brutalized them? On provision grounds, it is likely that Africans chose the crops they raised, applying particular knowledge for the purpose of recreating culinary traditions. But in a master's field, what did an African gain from applying particular technologies? It may be that people do what they know how to do. Put rice farmers in rice fields, and they will work as they always have. But with no attention to this subject, we are left guessing.

There can be no doubt that Africans were master agriculturalists and that many skills developed in Africa were applicable in a variety of American settings. This is worth knowing, and Knight deserves high praise for telling the story.

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The Akan Diaspora in the Americas. KWASI KONADU. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. xi + 307 pp. (Cloth US\$ 74.00)

RAY KEA
Department of History
University of California
Riverside CA 92521, U.S.A.
<ray.kea@ucr.edu>

Kwasi Konadu's book on the Akan diaspora in the Americas stands out as a particularly informative and path-breaking contribution to the study of African diasporas in the Americas. The modern Akan-speaking population stretches across central and southern Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. What is its history and what were the diasporic experiences of Akan-speakers who were ensnared in the international slave trade? Konadu answers these and other pertinent questions in an innovative and provocative way. His illuminating study effectively challenges basic presuppositions of standard African diasporic narratives. A real strength is that he does not begin his story with the Middle Passage, a conventional point of departure in most African diasporic

studies. He begins instead with a historical West African space, thereby offering a reassessment of Akan/African diasporic experiences in the Americas through the *longue durée* of Akan/African historical life. His masterful and well-written investigation has interdisciplinary breadth, methodological rigor, bold and imaginative concepts, and historical depth. It draws on oral traditions, archaeology, archival records, published primary and secondary sources, and historical linguistics.

The book includes seven chapters, five maps, twelve figures, six tables, a glossary, endnotes (which also include bibliographic references since the book has no separate bibliography), and an index. Curiously, the figures and tables are not indicated in the table of contents; I only became aware of them while reading the text.

Chapter 1, "On Diaspora and the Akan in the Americas," discusses the historiography of the idea of diasporic Akan speakers (and Africans) in the Americas, and their identity markers as these are presented in primary and secondary sources. Konadu engages and challenges certain Africanist and Americanist historiographies pertaining to Akan historical origins and the Akan diaspora in the Americas. To move away from ethnic notions of diasporic Akan he argues that scholars "should start with the Africans' core understandings and identities in Africa and then use both as a compass to chart their shapes in the Americas" (p. 14). What theoretical framework does he develop for reading Akan "core understandings and identities" in West Africa and the Americas? He employs two concepts to frame his approach. They are, on the one hand, "temporal culture," which broadly speaking refers to material life and ecological environments, and on the other, "ideational culture" which embraces ideas, symbols, values, sensibilities, and ways of thinking, acting, and feeling. His point is that the space of Akan diasporic experience presupposes as its condition of possibility a space of Akan historical development.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine Akan speakers in their West African milieu. "Quest for the River, Creation of the Path: Akan Cultural Development to the Sixteenth Century" examines the formative processes that contributed to the development of Akan temporal and ideational cultures from about 1500 BCE to the sixteenth century. "History and Meaning in Akan Societies, 1500-1800" covers the period 1500 to 1800, examining in detail Akan coastal and inland settlements and politics and their interactions with each other, Muslim trade centers north of the rain forest, and European merchants on the Gold Coast, as well as the impact of the Atlantic slave trade on Akan (and non-Akan) societies. Through a close reading of selected texts (ranging from proverbs to the *odwira* festival) and a careful scrutiny of archaeological and historical linguistic data, Konadu introduces readers to the historical nature of Akan cultural politics and identity and their intersection with statecraft, local and regional trade, and trans-national flows of capital. Here he seems to address the issue concerning the kinds of difference a historical Akan culture could claim for itself on the basis of boundary-fixing strategies and political agendas.

The next three chapters focus on Akan diasporic experiences in different parts of the Americas. Chapter 4, “‘The Most Unruly’: The Akan in Danish and Dutch America,” looks at the politics and culture of Akan people as these were shaped by experiences of enslavement, marronage, and armed resistance, beginning with the Danish and Dutch colonies where Akan-speakers were known as “(A)mina.” Chapter 5, “The Antelope (*Adowa*) and the Elephant (*Esono*): The Akan in the British Caribbean,” considers the shaping of Akan ideational culture in the British Caribbean where Akan-speakers were commonly identified as “Coromantees.” Chapter 6, “‘All of the Coromantee Country’: The Akan Diaspora in North America,” turns to the North American mainland and examines the lived experiences of Akan persons in southern, mid-Atlantic, and New England colonies/states. These chapters concentrate on the re-configuration of Akan ideational culture as it entered into dialogue with other African cultural modes and practices. They are enlivened by interesting biographical accounts of men and women of Akan origin. Interestingly, Konadu uses slave rebellions and other forms of resistance as a way of understanding the formation and dimensions of a composite Akan culture and as a way of approaching the lived experiences of Akan people in colonial and plantation societies. He foregrounds this culture over and against the ideological demands and political domination of the planters’ regimes and does not describe it only in terms of strategies of resistance.

The final chapter, “Diaspora Discourses: Akan Spiritual Praxis and the Claims of Cultural Identity,” takes a contemporary look at persons of African descent and their efforts to engage with Akan culture and spirituality on the American and West African sides of the Atlantic. It raises, though without resolving it, the issue of the “new African diaspora” and the politics and claims of cultural identity among Akan speakers in West Africa and persons of African descent in the United States and Canada.

Konadu’s complex work raises a number of issues, questions, and problems, which are conceptual, empirical, and methodological in nature. These matters are useful in pointing to possible channels for future scholarly investigations. The study is unquestionably noteworthy from my perspective because it foregrounds the notion that the formation of the Akan diaspora in the Americas can only be properly comprehended by engaging with the history, specifically a cultural history, which preceded Akan diasporic experiences. Does ideational culture accumulate history? Has the idea of “ideational culture” been reified and essentialized, transforming it into a trans-historical and transcendent phenomenon? These questions relate to the idea that enslaved and forcibly transported Akan endured material deracination or dispossession of their West African temporal culture. What forms did the effects of material deracination have on the transformation of ideational culture, language, and modes of identity that did not correspond to existing material systems of sustenance in the plantation regimes of the

Americas? While Konadu seems to postulate a cultural continuity through time, he attempts to avoid reifying this idea by viewing continuity in terms of a cultural biography, over the long duration, of a range of practices, ideas, rituals, institutions, and attitudes among Akan speakers. In this conceptual setting ideational culture stands as a relatively autonomous formation which created its own context(s). Konadu demonstrates that this culture was historical, mobile, and mutable and that it was embedded in different networks and strategies. Furthermore, his work shows that diasporic studies can be profitably examined at different spatial levels. At one level he localizes the material and historical conditions of Akan ideational culture; at another he places the conception, production, circulation, and consumption of this culture within an Atlantic basin context. This is an important and intellectually refreshing study and I recommend it with much enthusiasm.

Tradition and the Black Atlantic: Critical Theory in the African Diaspora.
HENRY LOUIS GATES JR. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2010. ix-xiv + 205 pp. (Cloth US\$ 23.95)

DEBORAH A. THOMAS
Department of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia PA 19104, U.S.A.
<deborah.thomas@sas.upenn.edu>

Tradition and the Black Atlantic is the latest offering from leading African-American Studies scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr. It is a provocative and wide-ranging exploration of the intellectual genealogy of Cultural Studies – and more specifically, Black British Cultural Studies – posed against the backdrop of the “culture wars” that raged in the United States during the late 1980s and 1990s. Like his earliest works, Gates is concerned here with canon formation and dissolution, and with what these processes tell us about the politics of knowledge production in different locations. Ultimately, he seeks to think beyond the binaries that characterize much of modernist thinking in order to reveal something about the political dimensions of subject formation.

The book is made up of four chapters, all originally written as public lectures between 1989 and 1992, and though he continued to revisit them through the 1990s and 2000s they retain the wit and tone of talks. At the heart of his investigation is a paradox – why, when some key proponents of the

Black British Cultural Studies “movement” were proclaiming its exhaustion as early as 1990, were the ideas of these theorists gaining a second life, as it were, in the United States? This question begets others: What happens when a theoretical formation travels to a new context? How and why does it move, and how and why does it change as a result of the move? In order to begin thinking about these questions – and to provide a frame of reference for some of the contradictions that have suffused black scholarship and politics throughout the twentieth century – Gates travels through Enlightenment’s legacies. He lands on Edmund Burke as a figure who “not only anticipated the post-colonialist critique of Enlightenment rationalism, but who also may have founded the discourse against imperialism with which we align ourselves today” (p. 15). In Gates’s estimation, Burke, the anti-imperialist attorney who in the eighteenth century prosecuted Warren Hastings, then governor of Bengal and the head of the East India Trading Company, for plundering the land and torturing the population, was the first to refuse the utopia of Enlightenment universalism, the first to argue that “all relations are contingent” (p. 29). A cultural relativist (though his relativism also led him down the path of romanticism), Burke becomes, for Gates, the forefather of a particular strain of anticolonial struggle, in the realm of both politics and theory, a strain that has ultimately had mixed effects trafficking, as it does, in notions of cultural authenticity despite its anti-essentialism.

Gates then follows this strain of thinking (and its critical reformulation) through Raymond Williams to Stuart Hall and the later generation of Black British Cultural Studies theorists and cultural producers (like Isaac Julien, and ultimately the visual artists whose work is at the center of Rivington Place). He focuses, for example, on the reappropriation of Fanon throughout the 1990s, and on the ways in which a kind of Burkeian legacy haunts this project. That is, he demonstrates how the fascination with Fanon evinces something about our own current problematic of subject formation, with scholars as diverse as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Abdul JanMohamed, Benita Parry, and Albert Memmi mobilizing his arguments about colonial (and anticolonial) subjectivity in ways that sometimes reject and sometimes reproduce universalizing and totalizing abstractions of power, alterity, and resistance.

Gates’s end game here is formulating a politics beyond identity essentialisms, one that would subvert the U.S. discourse of multiculturalism (that flashpoint of the “culture wars”) without the need to imagine an authentic ethnic self, one that would allow for real cross-cultural understanding across difference, and one that might propel us toward a real political triumph over the new forces of conservative politics. To get there, he argues, we must in fact reject the sort of cultural relativism and romanticism that are Burke’s legacies.

A certain ambivalence suffuses the text. On one hand, Gates seems to celebrate Black British Cultural Studies for its linking of theory and practice, and for its foregrounding of issues of sexuality and desire, issues that have

too often (until recently) been overlooked within the mainstream of African-American scholarship. On the other hand, the line of his argument recalls some of the fault lines that were drawn in the 1990s and early 2000s over whether nationalism or diaspora should be the primary organizing principle for African American Studies. Like the culture wars of the 1980s and 1990s, however, this seems to be a tension that has run its course, as some of the most exciting scholarship produced today examines the far-flung articulations created through movement, transnational or otherwise.

Finally, given Gates's interest in the relationship between the production of theory and the production of politics, it is surprising that he does not perform a more archaeological account of the development of Black British Cultural Studies, emerging as it did as a political response to the crisis in Britain at the time as a way to think through the cross-ethnic alliances that were possible at that historical conjuncture. Would moving this analysis beyond cultural theory produced in Britain and the United States have offered a way to more robustly link the struggles occurring on opposite sides of the Atlantic with which he is concerned? Would it have engendered a more profound engagement with feminist cultural studies theorists, or with scholars working within other (related) geopolitical zones like the Caribbean? Would it have produced a different sort of cautionary tale regarding the contemporary political moment in the United States? These questions notwithstanding, *Tradition and the Black Atlantic* provides the valuable opportunity for us to travel alongside one of the most important figures in African-American Studies as he looks back on a critical moment in the development of the field.

From Africa to Jamaica: The Making of an Atlantic Slave Society, 1775-1807. AUDRA A. DIPTEE. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. xix + 187 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

D.A. DUNKLEY
Department of History and Archeology
University of the West Indies, Mona
Kingston 7, Jamaica
<daive.dunkley@uwimona.edu.jm>

Audra DipTEE has written an interesting book using an old idea: slave resistance. It challenges the popular notion of "social death" as an apt description of the experiences of the enslaved which was made famous by Orlando Patterson

(pp. 6, 79-80). Positioning her opposition within the scholarship of pioneer scholars of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery, she cites names such as Philip D. Curtin, John Hope Franklin, C.L.R. James, Walter Rodney, Eric Williams, Martin Klein, Paul Lovejoy, David V. Trotman, and David Richardson. These names are certainly well known, but with the exception of James, Rodney, Trotman, and Williams, they represent the writing of Atlantic history from within the metropole. James, Rodney, and Williams themselves raised serious questions about the imperial concerns and ideologies that have helped to shape this scholarship; among the complaints is the quite credible observation that this scholarship has shifted attention away from the violence of enslavement to make more space for discussions about slave resistance and accommodation. However, the idea of social death still has a vital role in assessments of slave trading and slavery, since the harsh realities of enslavement encouraged resistance and motivated many of the adjustments slaves made to their condition.

Diptee is primarily concerned with the British slave trade to Jamaica in the period extending from the American Revolution through the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. In a brief epilogue, she also addresses issues affecting slave life after the cessation of the trade and mentions the importation of laborers from India and China, which was contemplated "as early as 1805" in anticipation of increases in the price of labor arising from the abolition of the slave trade (p. 116). Slaveholders ultimately took the decision to import indentured laborers after the abolition of slavery in 1833. Diptee views the system of indentured labor purely in terms of the workforce needs of the slaveholders, though there is more that could be said on this system in connection with the racial, ethnic, and certainly religious discourses guiding slaveholders' decisions. Notably absent from Diptee's book is attention to the work of pro-slavery writers except for William Sells. The reverend George Wilson Bridges also wrote during the aftermath of the slave trade after taking up residence in Jamaica in 1816, providing useful discussions for assessing the prominence of nonlabor attitudes in the shaping of discourses about alternative labor supplies. Absent, too, is any reference to O. Nigel Bolland who made the vital connection between the domination shared by slavery and the post-slavery period "to remedy the continuing problem of labor," as Diptee herself puts it (p. 117).

Diptee notes that captives taken to Jamaica by British slave traders during the period of her study "were among the last of the enslaved to put an African stamp on Jamaican slave society" (p. 3). This observation is important to understanding the retention of African culture and traditions during slavery, but the discussion has to be taken further than the captives to include the extent to which Creole slaves also retained the traditions of their forebears. African cultural practices survived within enslaved Creole communities, as Melville Herskovits and Edward Brathwaite showed years ago. Work by linguists, such as Maureen Warner-Lewis, have made similar assertions; more recently, the research on the Caribbean churches in the diaspora, by Delroy

A. Reid-Salmon, provides a fresh framework for reexamining cultural retention among people born outside of their familial homelands in the Caribbean. Bonds that continue to bind these people to the original homes of their parents and grandparents are revealed in their religious doctrines and practices. Diptee's main thesis is a welcome change to history-writing on the British slave trade. She states that "the health and condition of captives ... had the largest influence on trading prices and patterns" (p. 4). She also argues that the issue of race, though important, played a less prominent role in the decisions made by slave traders, whose interactions with African slave traders were more important factors shaping the pattern of trading along the coastal areas of West Africa. Slave traders always had the economic condition of destinations such as Jamaica under consideration when negotiating for captives, and as Diptee points out, during the period of her study there was no dramatic decline in the demand for slaves in Jamaica. Agricultural expansion actually characterized the Jamaican economic situation during these years, and, as a result, the demand for slaves increased until 1801-1805 when the number of people who were embarked in Africa dropped below that for the previous period of 1776-1780. Certainly more research is needed to show the extent to which these developments brought to light by Diptee for Jamaica also characterized transatlantic slave trading elsewhere.

Diptee uses the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, which is accessible on the internet and free if it is used there. This database provides the most up-to-date figures on the trade, and Diptee makes good use of it to fill gaps in the historical literature, such as the number of children taken by slave traders, and to give an updated (if not a more precise) rendering of the places in Africa where slaves were captured and then taken to coastal areas to be shipped to Jamaica. With a source as accessible as the Slave Trade Database it would be easy to fall into the trap of inundating a study such as Diptee's with tables and numbers, but she commendably transcends the old numbers game to give a more qualitative examination, and in this way is able to incorporate assessments of the linkages between the slave trade and some prominent developments within slavery and slave society in Jamaica.

Elections, Violence and the Democratic Process in Jamaica 1944-2007. AMANDA SIVES. Kingston: Ian Randle. 2010. xxix + 232 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

DOUGLAS MIDGETT
Department of Anthropology
University of Iowa
Iowa City IA 52242, U.S.A.
<douglas-midgett@uiowa.edu>

In this book Amanda Sives examines the nature of electoral violence in Jamaica from the nation's first popular election under universal adult suffrage in 1944 until 2007. This follows from her 1995 Ph.D. dissertation, and a number of follow-up articles. Although she has extended the time frame from that of the thesis, there is little post-1995 material, save for brief examination of the election in 2007. Thus, although she has made regular return visits to Jamaica since the mid-1990s, we can only guess at the changes that have transpired relative to the relationship between partisan politics and violence since that time.

The introduction examines two approaches to the study of partisan political violence in Jamaica. The first, advanced by Carl Stone and written mostly during the first Michael Manley regime (1972-1980), focuses on clientelist politics that developed during the first decades of Jamaican popular politics, with an escalating violent component. The second, authored by Obika Gray, examines fundamental cultural orientations among Jamaican males, referred to as "badness-honour." Although Sives indicates that she will employ these two approaches to "situate my own work" (p. xv), further mention of Gray's analysis disappears after she dismisses it as "an unwieldy tool ... [that] encompasses too broad a range of resistance" (p. xix). This dismissal, I suggest, deprives Sives of a significant element in her analysis. While Gray does address a broad range of "resistances," greater attention to his thesis would have allowed Sives to locate her analysis within a broader comparative framework, the absence of which is a distinct weakness of her book.

Obika Gray identifies "badness-honour" as an orientation characterizing behaviors and cultural configurations that inhere among poor, urban young Jamaican males. However, he notes that "acts of badness-honour occur among the poor across all societies," particularly where "sharp deficits in power, group respect and material well-being" are part of the social fabric (Gray 2003:21). He elaborates:

Badness-honour is evident therefore in the public kinetic expression and corporeal gestures employed by social agents in contexts of domination and social inequality. Badness-honour is a repertoire that employs language, facial gesture, bodily poses and an assertive mien to compel rivals or allies to grant power, concede respect, accord deference or satisfy material want. (Gray 2003:21)

That Gray recognizes these practices as occurring across societies is significant. A number of sociological studies of urban ghetto life have identified similar configurations. While the Jamaican instance may evidence its own peculiar character, it is hardly a unique case. We ought, therefore, to be able to place it within a larger framework exemplified in studies of urban poverty in capitalist formations. It aids us in understanding the ontological bases of the behaviors that Sives richly describes. To some extent she recognizes this when she states: "It was within this context of high unemployment and urban deprivation that the growth in rude boys, criminality and trade in marijuana occurred. These developments ... were to have an important impact on the political culture within specific urban constituencies" (p. 61).

Furthermore, her book fails to take into account the regional context within which Jamaican political practice has occurred. Alexander Bustamante, like his contemporaries in the Eastern Caribbean, came to prominence on the back of labor union activism as the maximum leader of the party, the union, and, after 1944, the state. Unlike them, he was unable to purge or otherwise render impotent those with the temerity to challenge him and the JLP. Sives points out that the growing strength of the PNP after 1944, especially in Kingston and the Corporate Area, was met with strong-arm tactics on the part of the JLP and its supporters, engendering a like response by the PNP – initially to protect its political meetings and prevent intimidation of its supporters, and later as an active political tactic on its own behalf.

As Sives notes, the violence associated with political campaigns and elections escalated during the 1970s, leading to the 1980 election, described in detail. In that election, when the PNP government of Michael Manley lost to the JLP the issue of "ideology" was repeatedly invoked. Sives does not interrogate this in terms of whether or not ideological differences actually constituted a basis for violent contention. She quotes Manley's remark that "to label the partisan political violence of that period as ideological was to give it legitimacy" (p. 101). The extent to which the so-called ideological issue was a construction formulated to discredit the Manley regime during a period of regional ferment can be deduced from the editorial pages of the *Jamaica Gleaner*. The *Gleaner's* columnists, Dawn Rich, Morris Cargill, and John Hearne, contributed numerous diatribes focused on Manley's alleged leaning toward Cuba and the *Gleaner's* political inclinations were patent. With the overthrow of the regimes of Eric Gairy in Grenada and Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, the

pressure from the United States on regional governments intensified. Earlier in the book Sives prefigures the importance of regional and hemispheric influences when she writes of “external articulations” that include “the rise of Black Power and the radicalization of the politics of race” and “the hemispheric response to the consolidation of a Marxist regime in Cuba” (p. 53). However, there is little mention of these in subsequent discussions.

Sives devotes a chapter to efforts at electoral reform and the work of civil society organizations to address political violence in the aftermath of the 1980 election, but in recent years murders in Jamaica – not necessarily politically inspired – have accelerated to a level almost double that of 1980. Although it was not her intent to address the most recent confrontation between government and the gangs in Tivoli, this is difficult to assess, given the material presented in her book.

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Caciques and Cemi Idols: The Web Spun by Taino Rulers Between Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. JOSÉ R. OLIVER. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. xx + 306 pp. (Paper US\$ 34.95)

BRIAN D. BATES

Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice
Longwood University
Farmville VA 23909, U.S.A.
<batesbd@longwood.edu>

Scholars and readers with a general interest in Caribbean prehistory are familiar with the class of artifacts known as cemís, although an understanding of the role that these artifacts played in the social, political, and religious fabric of the Amerindians of the Caribbean has been lacking. José Oliver presents a detailed analysis of the cemi in pre-Columbian Caribbean culture and of the vital contribution of cemiism to the proper functioning of native culture and power structures. The book, divided into six parts, begins with

Oliver's introduction of the subject and his theoretical premises. He then describes the form, personhood, and identity of cemi idols, followed by a section that explores the social relations and circulation of cemi idols and human beings. The fourth part looks at the material culture that embodies cemiism, namely the stone collars, elbow stones, three-pointers, stone heads and *guaizas* (face masks). The fifth part examines the battles for the cemis in Hispaniola, Boriquen, and Cuba. This part offers an interesting example of religious syncretism, as Oliver explores two historic cases in which the Virgin Mary replaces native cemis. The final part presents Oliver's conclusions and thoughts about the direction of future research.

Oliver begins his analysis with a critical review of Irving Rouse's culture history for the Caribbean, challenging the Rousean assumption of a "unilinear developmental culture history" as "seriously flawed" (p. 11). He proceeds to construct a detailed critique of Rouse's view of the Taino using archaeological evidence and well-referenced scholarly literature to question many of his assumptions. The alternative to Rouse's view of the Taino as a people is a notion of the "Tainoness of Peoples," that is to say, a "spectrum or mosaic of social groups who express, negotiate, and contest in various ways their 'Tainoness' and who participate with various degrees of intensity in becoming and being 'Tainoan'" (p. 28). Oliver argues that native rulers employed cemi icons and religiously potent symbolism to demonstrate their Tainoness. The remainder of the text focuses on how cemiism blends the human world and the supernatural world into a seamless realm where human actors and non-human objects imbued with human and supernatural qualities interact in a complex web of social relationships. These relationships are at the heart of the power structure of the caciques or chiefs who ruled pre-Columbian society. Oliver also explores what happens when this relationship is disrupted by the Spanish.

Oliver underscores the vital nature of cemiism to the social order when he notes that, "For living caciques to govern effectively, they had to maintain control of an appropriately powerful contingent of cemi icons, those with tested reputations and with legendary status" (p. 87). Cemis, it is explained, are not mere objects of art, but rather actors within the indigenous culture. As such, "like human beings, these cemis have names and titles, roles marked by gender and age, and social rank; they build up reputations and have a history of deeds based on their acts and relationships with human beings and with other beings...in short, they have biographies" (p. 54). In this worldview people need cemis and cemis need people. Cemis created opportunities for social relations that could not exist in their absence (p. 44) and they were necessary to "strengthen and reaffirm political-economic support among caciques in the Greater Antilles" (p. 155). The relationship between cemiism and the political and social order of things was irreversibly impacted by the Spanish who may not have understood the cosmology of cemiism – indeed

they probably did not care about it at all – although they did understand the threat that cemiism posed to their control of the indigenous people.

Throughout the book Oliver meticulously details his research using the accounts of the early chroniclers as well as a thorough review of both the available literature and the archaeological data. The result is a cogent, thoughtful exploration of the role of cemiism in the native culture that was soon to be overcome by the Spanish. Readers will be challenged to accept Oliver's premise of the role of the cemi – especially the cacique-cemi relationship – in Amerindian culture and the accompanying cosmological view that supports it. One reason that this may seem to be a challenge is that the supporting archaeological evidence is at best a bit thin, in particular as it relates to the range of cemi artifacts that undergird Oliver's theoretical propositions. He recognizes this to be the case, though, and embraces the potential for his theoretical framework to "provide a baseline and coherent argument against which future archaeological research on native religions and their material correlates can be assessed" (p. 247).

At the conclusion of this text readers will find that they have explored with Oliver the theoretical and ethnohistoric landscape as it relates to the role of cemiism and cemi idols in the indigenous culture of the Greater Antilles. Along the way they will acquire a solid theoretical framework for understanding cemiism. Oliver leaves readers with a caution to be mindful of the complex web of interactions and relationships that exist between the material culture encountered by archaeologists and the human (or non-human) actors and cultural systems that created those material elements.

The Latin American Identity and the African Diaspora: Ethnogenesis in Context. ANTONIO OLLIZ BOYD. Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2010. xxvii + 329 pp. (Cloth US\$ 119.99)

DAWN F. STINCHCOMB
Department of Foreign Languages & Literatures
Purdue University
West Lafayette IN 47907, U.S.A.
<Stinchcomb@purdue.edu>

Despite the proof of its impact upon all aspects of Latin American culture, the existence of the African diaspora is still very much up for debate. *Mestizo*, the term for the preferred identity in Latin America, trumps all physical traits

to lessen the comparison with an undesirable ethnic identity, a lexical attempt to “*adelantar la raza*,” as the saying goes. In the first sentence of the prologue to *The Latin American Identity and the African Diaspora*, Antonio Olliz Boyd defines an aphorism as a “concise expression of a social truth.” The aphorism that drives this book, “same trip, different ships,” is the one whose context leads to the concept of ethnogenesis, as noted in the subtitle, *Ethnogenesis in Context*. The book consists of four essays with the same *leitmotiv*, essays that, as Boyd describes them, “concern the image and social effect of the aesthetics of blackness” in the literature of Latin America (p. xvi). The first three essays focus on nation-centered literature from throughout Latin America to examine “the extent to which the national psyche has accepted or rejected ... the ethnic Afro Latino and Afro Latinism” as representative of the national culture (p. xvii). The Latin American lexicon proves the existence and impact of the African slaves and their descendants upon Latin American culture since the sixteenth century. Noting that *Hispanidad* itself is a term that has both racial and socio-cultural implications, Boyd declares the creation of an Afro Latino identity a form of ethnogenesis as well (p. xxii). The fourth essay deconstructs Afrolatinism on the basis of the “black experience.” Here, links are made between Afro Latin Americans in Latin America and those in Africa, the descendants of the returnees to the Gold Coast from Brazil in the nineteenth century.

The principal argument is that Latin American identity is not defined by what it is culturally, spiritually, or phenotypically, but by the way it chooses to identify itself. Three-fourths of the text centers on the aesthetics of blackness, on the aesthetics of language as an experience of Afro Latin identity, and on the aesthetics of the black experience in racial awareness. As achieving whiteness is socially rewarding and blackness inhibits socio-economic ascension, the preferred Latin American prototype still distances itself from blackness. Boyd contends that acceptance of blackness based upon phenotype is not the same as acceptance based upon sociocultural makeup (p. 17). His close reading of Afro-Latino authors Andrés Bello, Manuel Zapata Olivella, and Carlos Truque shows that even among African-descended Latinos, language has a subtext meant to make racial differentiations that may corroborate the pro-white national rhetoric. Just as many non-black writers often describe the black subjects in their texts with stereotypical language, Truque’s physical description of the black protagonist demonstrates how he (Truque) may have identified himself ethnically as Afro Latino, but still differentiated himself from darker blacks, to avoid being grouped with them racially (p. 24). Therefore, he concludes, the expression of blackness for the Afro Latino author is an intentional act. This black aesthetic reflects the psycho-social reality of the author who, through the depiction of his black characters interprets his own idea of blackness (p. 44).

In his discussion of the concept of race, Boyd focuses on the aesthetics of language and race and its imagery in Latin American literature. In Latin America, race is a linguistic concept that, although based upon skin tone and general features, ignores the fact that these features are genetically determined, instead favoring the traits that demonstrate “racial” distance from non-whiteness. The Latin American lexicon proves the existence and impact of the African slaves and their descendants upon Latin American culture since the sixteenth century. However, despite all the research on the topic, can Mexicans, Bolivians, Chileans, and Argentinians, for example, ever be convinced that the *bamba*, the *quimba*, the *cueca*, and the *tango* are dances whose names are corrupted versions of African dances and therefore may very well be of African origin themselves? As Boyd indicates, for those aware of the African presence in their country, there may be more “passive recognition of cultural references” due to resistance to being associated with anything African. While for others, especially for Cubans who remain on the island, these cultural references are part of what defines their ethnicity (p. 92).

As the Dominican Republic is a country well-recognized for its polemic of racial identity, it is fitting for Boyd to dedicate an entire essay solely to the aesthetic of blackness through the experience of racial awareness in Dominican writing. Basing his analysis on the novels of Lóida Maritza Pérez and Julia Alvarez, *Geographies of Home* and *In the Name of Salomé*, Boyd completes a semiotic reading paying specific attention to the codification of the racial terminology and the specific attitudes of the authors toward race as identified by their choice of words. This “nonlinguistic system” of codification consists of attitudes and images that are associated with the meanings that a particular society may give them. His analysis offers a new way to approach critical race theory. And he takes a great leap forward when he includes the results of his study, among the Gã in the village of Tabom, of the impact that the Afro Brazilian returnees had on Africans after four centuries of slavery and colonialism. This essay stands out because it introduces a new type of aesthetic to the discourse on the Afro Hispanic experience, an aesthetic that, barring discussion of Equatorial Guinea, is quite unique.

The Latin American Identity and the African Diaspora affords readers a view of the diaspora that is broader and more inclusive than previous studies. While it is a necessary text for all institutional libraries, it would also make a valuable addition to the personal library of any scholar in History, Latin American or African Diaspora, or New World, Cultural, Ethnic and Racial Studies. It could appropriately be a required text for students in any of these fields.

Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic. KIMBERLY EISON SIMMONS. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. xiii + 148 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

GINETTA E.B. CANDELARIO
Sociology Department and Latin American and Latina/o Studies Program
Smith College
Northampton MA 01063, U.S.A.
<gcandela@smith.edu>

Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic joins a handful of other English-language texts seeking to make sense of Dominicans' relationship to blackness and their African heritage. (See, for example, Candelario 2007, Howard 2001, Mayes forthcoming.) Unlike other researchers, however, Simmons lived in the Dominican Republic from 2000 to 2004, raised her children there, and worked as the director of the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) study abroad program in Santiago. The result is a uniquely longitudinal, cross-cultural, grounded set of questions and observations, presented in a plainly written yet culturally attuned analysis of race, racialization, and the "black amnesia" evident in most Dominican educational, public history, and bureaucratic identification projects (p. 87).

The book consists of an introduction, four substantive chapters, and a conclusion. The Introduction offers a brief biographical sketch and *testimonio* of Simmons's experiences of African American and Dominican identity formations. Chapter 1 explores the historical development of state-sanctioned race discourses and ideologies that by the late twentieth century make "racial mixture" the hegemonic national heritage discourse despite the predominance of African heritage populations in the mix with European colonizers and immigrants, and Arab and Asian immigrants. Particularly useful is Simmons's brief account of how increased immigration from the Middle East, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain, and Haiti contributed to a shift away from the early twentieth-century racial self-ascription of the majority of Dominicans as *de color* ("of color") and of their republic as part of the West Indies.

Simmons picks up on Dominicans' popular use of *sancocho* – a hearty garlicky stew typically comprising beef, pork, chicken, root vegetables, corn, plantains, and rice¹ – as a metaphor for the many heritages that come together to constitute a flexibly incorporative yet uniquely Dominican ethno-racial identity. Simmons notes that despite this openness to "new ingredi-

1. For recipes, cultural commentary, and a Dominican merengue about *sancocho*, see *NWIG* 69:127-29 (1995).

ents” for the national stew, there is an institutionally sanctioned preference for mixtures that are oriented toward *blanqueamiento* (whitening). This is best exemplified by the Trujillo-era institutionalization of the “*indio*” color category rather than “*mulato*” to describe the “color” of “visibly” Afro-descended Dominicans. This terminology is naturalized in the state identity cards every adult Dominican must have and use in everyday life, the *cedula*.

To wit, Simmons asks whether the 1998 introduction of “*mulato*” as an official *cedula* color category constituted a significant shift away from “black amnesia.” In Chapter 2 she offers an ethnographic account of what government workers at the Junta Central Electoral (JCE) in Santiago, who were charged with issuing *cedulas* with these new labels, actually did. Simmons moves fluidly between the micro-level practices of JCE workers ascribing color categories to individual Dominican citizens (a process that she shows to be highly subjective, debatable, and negotiated) and the larger macro-level political debates and socio-cultural shifts that give the labels meaning. In the end, she found that JCE workers generally were reluctant to favor *mulato* over *indio*, due largely to an ongoing commitment to demarcate the Dominican Republic from Haiti, and Dominicans from Haitians. As a sociologist, I would have liked to know a great deal more about the administrative process through which that policy change occurred. What stakeholders were involved in the conversations? What motivated the discursive shift and was it accompanied by an ideological shift? Unfortunately, that information is missing from the book.

Simmons’s major contribution comes in Chapter 3, where she examines how “the idea of mixture is recast based on lived experiences both *here* and *there*” (p. 87, her emphasis). She presents an ethnographic description of her experiences as director of the CIEE Program, and of her students’ experiences of race in the Dominican Republic. She is especially lucid in her analysis of her African American students’ accounts of re-racialization in the Dominican Republic into typically Dominican particularist racial categories “based on color, hair type and style, and other physical characteristics” and away from their own U.S.-based understandings of themselves as unequivocally “Black.” Simmons’s best insights come when she seriously engages African-American perspectives without privileging them as definitive, “true,” or more reliable readings of race and racism in the Dominican Republic than those of Dominicans. She also offers multiple examples of Dominicans whose encounters with African Americans – both in the Dominican Republic and in the United States – undergo “an epistemological shift in mixedness and blackness” (p. 87). Thus, affirming blackness is more than re-labeling skin color; it signifies membership in a larger African diaspora that confers not just disadvantage and stigma – as it does in the Dominican context – but affirmative community, healthy identity, and political solidarity oriented to transnational social justice.

However, very little analytical or even ethnographic attention is paid to the reactions and racialization of the white American students. For example, given that Dominican notions of whiteness allow for African heritage and for what Harry Hoetink (1967) called a “darker somatic norm image” while U.S. notions of whiteness require exclusively European heritage, how do white students come to reflect on their understandings of whiteness and blackness, and of race, racial identity, racialization, and racism more generally? This would have added an important reminder that whiteness is as socially constructed and contested as blackness.

We learn in Chapter 4 that it is these “epistemological shifts” that undergird Dominicans’ participation in “Alliances, Organizations, and Networks in the African Diaspora.” From Dominican cultural workers who affirm African heritages in their writing, visual arts, music, dance, and museums; to organizers of Dominican grassroots organizations and movements; to participants and collaborators in U.S. and Latin American non-governmental organizations, Simmons presents an eclectic mix of what she calls “identity entrepreneurs.” Although each case is treated somewhat anecdotally, readers come away with a sense that there are many public spaces and voices actively seeking to recover from the nation’s “black amnesia.”

Simmons concludes the book by returning to her opening debate: is Dominicans’ relationship to their African past a form of *denial* of their own blackness? She asserts that there is an important difference between *black amnesia* (i.e. a forgetting of what was once known) and *black denial* (refusing to acknowledge “the truth”). Simmons argues that Dominican experiences and viewpoints offer important challenges to racial presumptions and ideologies in the United States. In the end, the lesson of *Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic* is to acknowledge how these at times conflicting paradigms challenge national racial ideologies and inspire anti-racist solidarities across African diaspora communities.

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Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora in the Wider Caribbean. PHILIPPE ZACAÏR (ed.). Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. x + 207 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

CATHERINE BENOÎT
 Anthropology Department
 Connecticut College
 New London CT 06320, U.S.A.
 <catherine.benoit@conncoll.edu>

Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora in the Wider Caribbean proposes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Haitian diaspora with a focus on the French *départements* of Guadeloupe and French Guiana, and, to a lesser extent, on Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the United States. The book includes scholarly essays written by anthropologists, historians, and literary critics as well as interviews and a personal narrative. The diversity of the essays in terms of both disciplinary perspective and authorship introduces readers to the complex experience of Haitian migrants.

This groundbreaking book aims at describing and understanding the opposition that Haitians have met with as they settle in the United States and other parts of the Caribbean. In the introduction, Philippe Zacaïr and Catherine Reinhardt identify the major places and moments of racist aggression toward Haitians, from the 1937 massacre on the Haitian-Dominican border to the little-known Guadeloupean racist radio shows and calls for hunting down Haitian migrants that began in the 1980s. Drawing on the work of Stuart Hall, Laënnec Hurbon, and Khachig Tölölyan, they offer three analytical frameworks for comprehending racial prejudice toward a people who share a common history with many other Caribbean islanders, especially the Francophone ones.

Stuart Hall (1991) has defined cultural identity as being both an “already accomplished fact” that emphasizes continuity and shared experiences, and a “production which is never complete, always in process” that stresses differences. For Hall, the “doubleness of similarity and difference” characterizes the production of Caribbean cultural identities. They share a common history of transplantation, enslavement, and colonization that has led them to be considered all the same by the “developed West,” as a peripheral Other at the margin of the metropolitan world. However, they are different due to the diverse ways they have negotiated their relationships with the metropolises. Zacaïr and Reinhardt argue that it is precisely this unique positioning of Haiti toward France and the United States that is difficult for other Caribbean states to handle.

In a different vein, Laënnec Hurbon understands Guadeloupean prejudices toward Haitian and Dominican migrants as an attempt to resist colonial oppression by creating an imaginary pure and authentic Guadeloupean space free of foreign cultures, even though Haitian culture has significantly influenced Guadeloupean music, language, and popular religion (Hurbon 1983). Caribbean migrants have become scapegoats onto which Guadeloupeans project their own sense of alienation, as they are still victims of colonial violence.

Finally, drawing upon Kachig Tölölyan's definition of nation-states as sites of homogeneity (Tölölyan 1991), Zacaïr and Reinhardt argue that the violent reactions to Haitian migrants have to be linked to their challenging membership in a "traveling culture" (Cohen 1997), or "nation unbound" (Basch *et al.* 1994).

Following the reprint of Paul Brodwin's seminal 2003 essay regarding the marginalization of Haitians in Guadeloupe, each chapter introduces a specific locale and situation. Part One, "Haitian diasporas," includes Pierre Minn's essay on the health care situation of Haitians at the Dominican border, Zacaïr's essay on Ibo Simon's racist radio shows in Guadeloupe, Sharon Clarke's essay on refugee rights in Jamaica, Maud Laëthier's essay on the ethnicization of Haitian migration to French Guiana, and Odile Ferly's essay on the demonization of Haitians in Guadeloupean literature. In Part Two, "Testimonies," Zacaïr's conversation with Myrtha Désulmé stresses the class diversity of the Haitian diaspora. In "Congratulations! You don't *look* Haitian. How and when does one *look* Haitian?" Cécile Accilien reflects on her position as a scholar of Haitian origin in the United States. Her narrative illuminates the prejudices of U.S. academia toward foreign scholars and more specifically toward those coming from developing countries.

Instead of offering a lengthy discussion of the concept of diaspora (though this is brilliantly analyzed by Laëthier in her essay on Haitian migrants in French Guiana), *Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora in the Wider Caribbean* stresses the notion of movement as being intrinsic to the definition of diasporic practices. This allows the authors to show the psychological, sociological, and political costs of such movements, but it does not lead to an analysis that shows how the metropolises have developed barriers to the movement of people. Racial prejudices toward Haitians are not only developed by every Caribbean as other studies have shown for the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos, but are also supported by U.S. and European governments. It is easier for a Cuban national to enter the United States than it is for a Haitian national. A Cuban citizen tends to be considered a political refugee and easily granted residency, whereas a Haitian citizen is more likely to be considered an economic refugee and denied entry. France has passed numerous bills and laws to forbid the entrance of Haitian nationals into the French overseas territories of the Americas and to facilitate their deportation.

This collection of essays is the first comparative attempt to discuss anti-Haitian feelings across the Caribbean and the United States. Its interdisciplin-

ary approaches make it a seminal book for students ready to consider migration and other transnational processes not just from the common understanding of hybridity and cultural creation but from the reality of stigmatization and discrimination that many foreign nationals are subjected to. The recent incapacity of the U.S., Canadian, and French governments to facilitate family reunions in the aftermath of the earthquake that struck Haiti in January 2010, in contrast to their initial commitments, is a cruel reminder of the absence of political will to support the freedom of movement of disenfranchised people.

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Duvalier's Ghosts: Race, Diaspora, and U.S. Imperialism in Haitian Literatures. JANA EVANS BRAZIEL. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. xxx + 309 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

J. MICHAEL DASH
French Department
New York University
New York NY 10003, U.S.A.
<michael.dash@nyu.edu>

After the collapse of Duvalierism in February 1986, jubilant and angry crowds tried to physically erase the Duvalier dictatorship from the face of Haiti. *Dechoukaj*, the creole term for uprooting the dictatorship, took the form of destroying the headquarters of the tontons macoutes, the homes of Duvalier officials, the BMW dealership of Ernest Bennett, and ultimately

the mausoleum of the Duvalier family in the national cemetery. Erasing the physical traces of Duvalierism was the easy part. Not even the collapse of that icon of Duvalierist power, the national palace, now eerily silent after the January earthquake, can lay to rest the ghosts of Duvalierism that haunt the Haitian imaginary.

In *Duvalier's Ghosts*, Jana Braziel passionately argues that these specters are the most recent manifestation of ghosts that reach back in New World history to the Middle Passage itself, ghosts condemned to wander that liminal space between ancestral ground and Promised Land. Braziel does not get to these ghostly presences, however, before evoking the treatment of President Aristide's overthrow and exile in 2004 by a leftist academic, Peter Hallward, a neo-liberal journalist, Michael Diebert, and the exploitative "all-too-hip" film *Ghosts of Cité Soleil*. Her preface sets the tone for *Duvalier's Ghosts* as Braziel sees the need for humanities scholars to take a moral stand and not only "not ignore the deep structural causes of such state violence," but see them "as rooted within larger extraterritorial forces" (p. xii). Indeed, her introduction is a lengthy discussion of the theorization of "extraterritorial forces" which are responsible for Haiti's political ills. She reads Foucault through a Deleuzean lens in making the case for seeing state violence as a "territorialization of power within (a) discursive field of relations" (p. 6). This erudite detour through rhizomes, nomadism, and molecular becomings could, however, have been enriched by references to the complicity of Haitian governments in foreign interventions. As David Nicholls (1979:139-41) points out in *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, the Duvaliers did not initiate this practice of compromising national sovereignty.

Braziel begins her study in earnest in Part 1, which is tellingly entitled "Policed Waters, Transatlantic Military Zones." Here she closely follows the lead of Joan Dayan (1995:264) who, in *Haiti, History and the Gods*, had specifically addressed the question of ghostly presences in a section entitled "The Long Road to Guinea," speaking of St. Domingue as a country where "relics and scraps of bodies" are condemned to wander the earth as "zombie, spirits, baka, or lougawou." More specifically, Dayan had critiqued Paul Gilroy's study of the Black Atlantic not only for disregarding Haiti but for being too apolitical. In her essay "Paul Gilroy's Slaves, Ships and Routes," she complained that his study was little more than a "cartography of celebratory journeys" and "an expurgated epic history." Likewise Braziel critiques Gilroy's glorifying of black nomadism or what Elizabeth DeLoughrey calls a naïve celebration of cross-cultural hybridity (p. 71). The "policed waters" in this section's title is aimed directly at Gilroy's refusal to see that "the Atlantic Ocean is not a free, unbound, deterritorialized space" (pp. 59-60). More political than literary, this section deals with the United States' attempts after 1986 to contain the flood of Haitian refugees (whom Braziel, using Edwidge Danticat's words, calls "the children of the sea"). The interdisciplinary thrust

of Braziel's discussion could have been enhanced by references to important Caribbean works that deal with Haitian boat people. They are the "scape-ghosts" of Kamau Brathwaite's "Dream Haiti" (1995) and, in Jean-Claude Charles's *De si jolies petites plages* (1982), the exiles of a gulag archipelago created by U.S. immigration.

The following sections maintain the fierce criticism of mindlessly post-modern celebrations of transnational hybridity but lean more heavily, perhaps too heavily at times, on literary material. For instance, while Dany Laferrière's *Pays sans chapeau* is set in Haiti after the U.S.-led invasion to restore democracy in 1994, it is hard to agree that it "offers searing and satirical critiques of how military capitalism is entangled in the development practices of international aid" (p. 125). The complexity of Laferrière's novel gets lost in a worthwhile discussion of the way in which the Haitian government was obliged to accept development assistance that suited foreign and not local interests. Laferrière's novel as much as anything else mocks the authority of the native informant in an ambiguous narrative that confuses dream and reality, observer and observed. Braziel's use of Laferrière's *Le cri des oiseaux fous* is much more successful as is her thoughtful and original exploration of the novel's link to Marie Chauvet's trilogy, *Amour colère et folie*. While there is no real conclusion, *Duvalier's Ghosts* ends appropriately with an entire chapter devoted to Danticat's *The Dew Breaker*. Danticat is as important as Joan Dayan to the conception of *Duvalier's Ghosts*. Taking her cue from Danticat, Braziel sees Haiti as "corporeally scarred soil" (p. 248). For Danticat's (1998:281) characters, as her protagonist in *The Farming of Bones* simply and chillingly declares, the "past (is) more flesh than air." Re-membering literally means putting back together "relics and scraps of bodies." This is a fitting end for a study which so urgently pursues those nameless ghosts of Haitians lost in the liminal space of the Black Atlantic.

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Mainland Passage: The Cultural Anomaly of Puerto Rico. RAMÓN E. SOTO-CRESPO. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. xxiv + 169 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.50)

GUILLERMO B. IRIZARRY

Department of Spanish and Puerto Rican and Latin American Studies

University of Connecticut

Storrs CT 06269, U.S.A.

<guillermo.irizarry@uconn.edu>

In this book, Ramón Soto-Crespo makes a succinct selection of texts and authors, focusing on the second half of the twentieth century, and analyzing ideologically laden gazes and perspectives from the island and the mainland. His use of the term “passage” alludes to Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* (1993), which discusses the Middle Passage as a historical event that created a zone of dynamic social and cultural transactions negotiating the brutality of forced migration and slavery. Puerto Rico is portrayed as a stateless nation and a “federalized semiautonomous quasi state” (p. 14), affirmatively embracing its anomalous condition. Following Gloria Anzaldúa (*Borderland/La frontera*), Walter Mignolo (*The Idea of Latin America*), and Jorge Mañach (*Teoría de la frontera*), Soto-Crespo locates Puerto Rican cultural production in a borderland. He conceptualizes this anomalous political subjectivity as scattered and indeterminate, and follows Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt in depicting the Puerto Rican people as a *muchedumbre* (multitude). Diffuse in directionality and lacking in-depth discussion of crucial theoretical elements, his initial reflection points to some imaginative formulations of the coruscating case he studies. Soto-Crespo is terse in his discussion of recent notable reflections on Puerto Rican culture and society (e.g., the work of Carlos Pabón, Arturo Torrecillas, Rafael Bernabé, Jorge Duany, Frances Negrón-Muntaner, and Yolanda Martínez San Miguel). However, he provides a significant new reading of Antonio Pedreira (1899-1939) as a border thinker. Equally striking is his apology of the political strategy of Luis Muñoz Marín, presented as a forward-thinking, non-nationalist, radical autonomist. The opening sections of *Mainland Passage*, should elicit vital debate. The heart of the book is found in four analytical chapters that treat the work of Edgardo Rodríguez Juliá (b. 1946), Luis Muñoz Marín (1898-1980), René Marqués (1919-1979), and Arcadio Díaz Quiñones (b. 1940) and a grouping of Nuyorican writers.

Chapter 1, “State and Artifice: and Puerto Rican Painting,” deals with the work of Edgardo Rodríguez Juliá, a key figure of the 1970s generation, and his fashioning of a cultural critique of the state as artifice, while engaging some key pictorial works by José Campeche (1751-1809) and Francisco

Oller (1833-1917). Soto-Crespo analyzes the way artists have dealt with the anomalous character of the state in Puerto Rico, oscillating “between [state] presence and absence” (p. 55), and monumentalizing it variably as an artifice of incomplete and fragmentary power, and as a site of melancholy (for it did not emerge). Critical discussions of *La renuncia del héroe Baltasar* (1974), *El entierro de Cortijo* (1983), and *La noche oscura del Niño Avilés* (1984) dialogue with key paintings by Campeche and Oller, as well as a broader field of cultural criticism, making this text a substantial contribution to scholarship on Puerto Rican cultural history and the work of Rodríguez Juliá.

Chapter 2, “The Mainland Passage,” probes writings by Luis Muñoz Marín, chief architect of Puerto Rico’s Estado Libre Asociado (the island’s official legal status since 1952), in tandem with the memoirs of Esmeralda Santiago (b. 1948), *When I Was Puerto Rican* (1994). Soto-Crespo discusses the latter as the articulation of a borderland subjectivity and Santiago as the beneficiary of a malleable political formula that allows the same political rights in the island and the mainland, always retaining cultural membership within a national community. Through appraisals of Muñoz Marín’s *Memoirs* (1982) and his Harvard lectures of 1956 and 1959, Soto-Crespo argues that the ELA was devised to simultaneously curtail “nationalism, colonialism, and poverty” (p. 61). He underscores that, far from being an incongruity, this formula strategically went beyond nationalism and “institutionalized a borderland state in the Americas” (p. 60), creating a broad social and historical field, and advancing a new, post-national political project, which Soto-Crespo calls “radical autonomy.”

Chapter 3, “Escaping Colonialism,” is perhaps the most suggestive chapter of the book. It blends politics, law, and culture, paying close attention to key essays by René Marqués (author of “El puertorriqueño dócil” [1962]) and Arcadio Díaz Quiñones (author of *El arte de bregar* [2000]), while considering the value of *estadolibrismo* (the ideological buttress of the ELA) in political and cultural discourse as a strategy for articulating “nonassimilable local autonomy” and preventing “a potentially vulnerable exteriority” (p. 116). Soto-Crespo bolsters his cultural analysis by appealing to the work of legal scholars (e.g., former Puerto Rican Supreme Court Justice, José Trias Monge) and politicians (e.g., former Puerto Rican governor, Aníbal Acevedo Vilá), and underscores the *longue durée* of the radical autonomist position that came to fruition through the ELA and in heterogeneous cultural practices alive in the social and discursive field since the nineteenth century.

In Chapter 4, “Out of the Mainland: Nuyorican Poetry and Boricua Politics,” Soto-Crespo asserts that Nuyorican poets advanced an aesthetic project that “duplicates the self-governing status of the island on the U.S. mainland” (p. 135). Curtly reviewing seminal texts by notable Nuyorican poets Pedro Pietri, Miguel Algarín, and Tato Laviera, and the lesser-known Alfredo López, he concludes his inquiry into Puerto Rican culture.

Soto-Crespo ingeniously reflects upon the evolution of the cultural field of Puerto Rican society, engaging postcolonial studies and political theory to delve into the manner in which this political identity has negotiated coloniality, diaspora, and its ambivalent geopolitical status. The strength of *Mainland Passage* lies in its flexible chronology and transdisciplinary engagement with literature, political discourse, and legal inquiry. Although the book is creative and lucid in its inquiry of identity and nationalism, some of its assertions pose problems in terms of chronological expectations (by interweaving works and texts of different periods without a forceful proposition) and disciplinary methodologies (by overanalyzing textual nuggets and establishing loose associations with theoretical texts). There are also some notable elisions in the textual corpus (a selection favoring male texts without acknowledging the formidable importance of key figures like Ana Lidia Vega, Rosario Ferré, Magali García Ramis, and Sandra María Esteves, to name just a few).

The most innovative aspect of *Mainland Passage* lies in the notion of radical autonomy and the problematics of the borderland, ELA state, and its ideological underpinning (*estadolibrismo*). But Soto-Crespo obfuscates this critical crux by leading with references to Paul Gilroy, David Lloyd, and Antonio Negri, among others, which are not deftly blended into his central argument. Despite some vexations, *Mainland Passage* presents true challenges to Puerto Rican studies scholarship and should be read as a provocation of further intellectual conversations.

Report on the Island and Diocese of Puerto Rico (1647). DIEGO DE TORRES Y VARGAS. Scranton PA: University of Scranton Press, 2009. xvii + 264 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

DAVID A. BADILLO
 Latin American and Puerto Rican Studies
 Lehman College (CUNY)
 Bronx NY 10468, U.S.A.
 <David.Badillo@lehman.cuny.edu>

This very useful historical document, compiled and translated from Spanish into English by theologian Jaime R. Vidal and accompanied by three thoughtful historical essays by religious studies scholar Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, is not exclusively a volume on religion. Rather, it reveals in the

previously overlooked commentary of Puerto Rican-born cleric Diego de Torres y Vargas much about commerce, culture, and colonial administration in the seventeenth-century Caribbean while offering novel insights into Puerto Rican history. The text upon which Vidal relies is based largely on a version of the report unearthed in Madrid by Alejandro Tapia y Rivera in the mid-nineteenth century and published in Eugenio Fernández Méndez's 1976 edited collection, *Crónicas de Puerto Rico*. The English translation appears on interfacing pages with the Spanish text in 130 numbered paragraphs, which are expertly annotated and illustrated with numerous maps. Most of the archaic language and obscure references of the original have been either excised or contextualized. Stevens-Arroyo's accompanying articles effectively expand upon the text and introduce broader implications to the report, which arrived in Seville in 1647 entitled "Description of the Island and City of Puerto-Rico, and of its Inhabitants and Towns, Garrison, Governors and Bishops; As Well as Its Fruits and Minerals."

Torres y Vargas, an upper-class *criollo* who studied in Salamanca and received a licentiate in law, frequently adopts the tone of a booster of his beloved island which, he claims, enjoyed "a perpetual springtime so that neither heat nor cold are experienced in such a way as to afflict or discompose [human] nature" (p. 107). Puerto Rican fruits, we are told, grow more readily and are larger than those found on neighboring islands. Torres y Vargas is not, however, uncritical of the population, though he lauds their bravery in the face of foreign invasion. Among other tidbits, readers hear that the principal products of the island's commerce at the time of writing were ginger, hides, and sugar, though the export of tobacco – which supposedly grew more abundantly than in Havana and Santo Domingo – had begun just ten years earlier. The ready availability of timber fed nascent ship-building efforts. Torres y Vargas also discusses the island's geography and the western settlement of San Germán, whose two hundred *vecinos* fell under the authority of the Governor and Captain-General of San Juan. Another venue mentioned is the "health-giving" hot spring that "gushes from a cliff in two jets of water" in the Valley of Coamo (now known as Los Baños de Coamo).

The capital city, meanwhile, numbered some five hundred *vecinos* living mostly in stone houses, along with the military's garrison of 400 infantrymen. The prominent San Felipe del Morro fortress, designed by a visiting Cuban governor in 1584, brandished in its platforms and bastions over one hundred pieces of artillery. British attacks by Sir Francis Drake in 1595 and by the Earl of Cumberland in 1598 had stimulated a defensive buildup that helped protect Puerto Rico against later assaults. A Dutch attack in 1625, though eventually repulsed, resulted in a torching of the city by the escaping marauders. The report's decidedly religious tinge includes several paragraphs devoted to popular piety, as seen in Marian devotions, as well as in the more formal founding in 1646 of the convent staffed by Carmelite nuns. Later in

the narrative Torres y Vargas, an expert in affairs of the island's cathedral and its key players, devotes considerable space to an informative, but often tedious, listing of bishops, governors, and captains-general stationed on the island since the early sixteenth century.

Among the three essays that constitute a prelude to the report, the most trenchant is entitled "Soldiers, Heretics and Pirates: The Thirty Years' War in the Caribbean." In illuminating the social, political, and economic impact of that decisive and sustained military and religious struggle, Stevens-Arroyo points to the importance of King Phillip III's royal decrees of the 1640s which, he argues, ultimately recognized that it was no longer possible to keep other colonizing powers out of the Caribbean while also seeking to prop up Puerto Rico as the key bastion protecting the existing possessions of a weakened Spain. Torres y Vargas took notice of Puerto Rico as an emerging focal point for European imperial and Catholic-Protestant rivalries, even as Santo Domingo retained administrative primacy in the region. At this time several of the smaller Windward Islands passed to the English, French, and Dutch. In 1648, moreover, the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War enhanced competition in the Greater Antilles, as Spain formally surrendered to France the western part of Hispaniola. A few years later, in 1654, the British occupied the former Spanish island of Jamaica, establishing Port Royal as an "open city."

Two other essays by Stevens-Arroyo thoroughly cover the origins of the report and Torres y Vargas's genealogy, including his ancestral links to founding governor Juan Ponce de León and his later service as ecclesiastical governor, which gave him considerable power in diocesan legal matters. These might have been consolidated, while the essay on the Thirty Years' War might have been more effective as an epilogue. This would have allowed for a smoother flow and earlier access to the report itself (which begins on page 106). Nonetheless, the highly informed interpretations contained in this volume, along with the newfound accessibility of the text in the English language, make this imaginative and engaging scholarly volume profitable for a wide range of readers.

Land Reform in Puerto Rico: Modernizing the Colonial State, 1941-1969. ISMAEL GARCÍA COLÓN. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. xvi + 184 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

RICARDO PÉREZ

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work

Eastern Connecticut State University

Willimantic CT 06226, U.S.A.

<perezr@easternct.edu>

Puerto Ricans growing up on the island during the 1970s began to experience the effects of the dramatic transformation of their society after the implementation of various socio-economic, political, and cultural reforms initiated by the Popular Democratic Party between the 1940s and the 1960s. Such is the experience recounted by anthropologist Ismael García-Colón in *Land Reform in Puerto Rico*, an engaging and well-crafted analysis of the creation and transformation of the community that his family helped shape in the municipality of Cidra, with the implementation of the Land Law of 1941. Like many others across the island, García-Colón's grandparents were *agregados* (sharecroppers) who received land in usufruct after the government purchased agricultural farms and distributed the land among rural workers. Parcelas Gándaras, the community where García-Colón grew up in the 1970s, was founded in 1945 from the expropriation of farmland that formerly belonged to the Gándara family, one of the major landholders in Cidra. García-Colón uses this history to analyze the process of land reform on the island during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Land Law of 1941 was a significant component of the program of economic development and modernization created by the Popular Democratic Party with the support of the U.S. government. The law's Titles IV, V, and VI helped define the terms under which land could be distributed. García-Colón argues that the simplest way to distribute land was codified in Title VI as it "sought to transform *agregados* into small farmers by selling individual farms" (p. 48). Title IV, on the other hand, was the most ambitious and controversial and "called for the creation of proportional profit farms" exclusively in sugarcane estates (p. 49). In other words, on sugarcane farms that were partitioned to enforce the 500 acre limitation, the remainder was converted into proportional profit farms that ranged from 100 to 500 acres. Finally, Title V created the Agregado Resettlement Program to distribute lands to the landless population, which by the 1940s "constituted approximately half of the population in Puerto Rico and as much as 80 percent of the rural families" (p. 43). In each case, the land was distributed in usufruct

and owned by the government through the Land Authority, an agency created with the approval of the Land Law.

It was in this manner that *agregados* became *parceleros* (land holders) with a chance to cultivate the land and build their own homes in the parcels they received from the government. The Agregado Resettlement Program facilitated land distribution and provided the Puerto Rican government with an opportunity to introduce programs for economic and social reforms in the newly established communities that also contributed to the consolidation of the modern colonial state. For example, *parcelas* became the place for the introduction of government programs created by the Social Programs Administration and the Division of Community Education that effectively transformed the rural population into a mobile industrial labor force.

Not surprisingly, *parcelas* also constituted the political base from which the Popular Democratic Party drew its electoral support to dominate local party politics until the late 1960s, when it was challenged by the rise of the New Progressive Party. García-Colón contends that the Popular Democratic Party approved the Land Law of 1941 in order to gain the consent of the landless population as the party attempted to consolidate its dominance of party politics. In the process of distributing land and resettling the landless families into *parcelas*, the colonial state contributed to the formation of modern subjects who became less dependent on farming and instead furnished the needed labor force to spark the incipient industrialization of the island's economy. García-Colón also describes how *parceleros* migrated to nearby cities such as Caguas, Cayey, and San Juan in search of employment while others migrated to the United States to work in seasonal agricultural jobs. Ironically, by providing land to rural workers the state effectively removed the population from their productive relationship with the land and pushed them to find employment on the farms of the eastern United States.

García-Colón combines historical documents with ethnographic accounts from the memories of the original *parceleros* to provide a rich analysis of the hegemonic process of state formation in Puerto Rico during the middle of the twentieth century. His analysis reveals that hegemony does not eliminate conflict and confrontation and clearly shows the ways in which *parceleros* negotiated the terms of their incorporation into the process of state formation. The interplay between hegemony and individual agency is more readily seen in his analysis of the ways in which *parceleros*' initiative influenced the physical layout of Parcelas Gándaras as a result of the colonial government's inability to provide basic services such as electricity, running water, and infrastructure development. As anyone familiar with contemporary Puerto Rico may attest, the urban nature of *parcelas* has resulted from this uneven process of government involvement and local drives to improve the communities.

Until the publication of this book, little ethnographic description existed of the relationship between the formation of the colonial state and modern

urban subjectivities in Puerto Rico. García-Colón has made a great contribution to current studies of land reform in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in Latin America, where similar processes of land reform and the construction of modern subjectivities have occurred since the mid-twentieth century.

Land: Its Occupation, Management, Use and Conceptualization. The Case of the Akawaio and Arekuna of the Upper Mazaruni District, Guyana. AUDREY J. BUTT COLSON. Panborough, Near Wells, Somerset, U.K.: Last Refuge, 2009. xxiii + 408 pp. (Cloth £40.00)

CHRISTOPHER CARRICO
Amerindian Research Unit
Department of Language and Cultural Studies
School of Education and Humanities
University of Guyana, Turkeyen Campus
Georgetown, Guyana
<ccarrico@temple.edu>

Land is based on ideas that Audrey Butt Colson has been developing since the 1970s. The book builds a clear and thoroughly documented argument about the historical relationship between the Akawaio and Arekuna peoples and the land that they occupy and use in the Upper Mazaruni District. The book is both a significant contribution to the history and ethnography of the Akawaio and Arekuna, and strong support for the land claims that the Akawaio and Arekuna peoples of the Upper Mazaruni put forth in their lawsuit filed against the Government of Guyana in October 1998, which is still unheard by the Guyana High Court.

The research that informs this book began sixty years ago when Audrey J. Butt began ethnographic work on the Akawaio and Arekuna. Her field visits to these peoples in Guyana, Brazil, and Venezuela have continued up to the present. Butt Colson has also been a meticulous reader of the relevant manuscripts available in historical archives around the world. Her research is a great example of the kind of scholarship that only anthropological methods can produce: scholarship informed by a detailed and intimate knowledge of the way of life of peoples she has worked with for many years.

Land contains an especially close reading of the history of the Akawaio. Denis Williams associated the Akawaio with the Koriabo phase of pottery, and based on its dispersal, argued that the Akawaio peoples spread throughout the

Guiana highlands from the Northwest of Guyana, mainly southward and westward, up the Mazaruni from circa 80 BCE, and eventually into a wide expanse of the highlands of the Guiana Shield, extending from the Orinoco Basin, through Guyana and Suriname, and into Amapá, Brazil, in the Amazon Basin.

The historical documents lend support to Williams's assertions. In the colonial era Akawaio inhabited a much wider expanse of territory than they do today. They were present on Guyana's coast, and widely spread up Guyana's major rivers and into its highlands. They were encountered by the Dutch and the English in the Demerara, Supenaam, Corentyne, and Berbice River areas from the late sixteenth century. Europeans regularly interacted with them along the Mazaruni and Cuyuni Rivers beginning in the 1680s. As the Dutch moved deep into the interior, Akawaio traded with them along the Essequibo tributaries beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, with the establishment of Post Arinda, first at the confluence of the Siparuni and the Essequibo and later at the confluence of the Rupununi and the Essequibo.

In the 1780s and 1790s there were Capuchin missionary incursions into the Akawaio areas of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers. When the missions were driven out of the area by Carib attacks during the Venezuelan Revolution, many Akawaio returned to their natal communities or joined the Upper Mazaruni Akawaio.

In the 1830s William Hilhouse offered second-hand accounts of the Upper Mazaruni from the testimony of Akawaio from the Lower Mazaruni. Richard and Robert Schomburgk's second-hand accounts were from Gran Sabana, Venezuela, where they visited an Akawaio village as far west as that area of Venezuela. In 1863-64, C.F. Appun followed the Kurupung trail from the Lower Mazaruni, and from the Upper Mazaruni crossed over to the Cotingo in Brazil. C. Barrington Brown subsequently visited in 1868 and 1872.

The book's ethnographic sections examine concepts of land, property, ownership, and use rights, building on Butt Colson's research of previous decades. The Dutch referred to the Akawaio as "a 'nation,' living above the first rapids, in the hinterland beyond the coastal plain, on the higher grounds, and in the uplands" (p. 179). As Butt Colson has long asserted, the Akawaio Kapong identity is part of a set of nested identities based on kinship, language, culture, residence in particular river groups, etc.

At a smaller level than "the nation" were specific groups with collective identities based upon their shared residence in and use of a geographic area, as in the case of the Upper Mazaruni River Group. They regard themselves as the owners of the Upper Mazaruni Basin, and have a clear idea of the boundaries of this region. They are *A'murugok*, the "peoples of the headwaters," who share in the collective ownership of the Upper Mazaruni Region. The *A'murugok* were of one *tombadong* (group of families), who had shared the physical and spiritual landscape of the Upper Mazaruni since *pia-yatai* (the beginnings of time).

In addition to identity based on shared residence in the Upper Mazaruni river area, there are the more particular identities based on residence along the various tributaries of the Mazaruni. Each river group has use rights over the areas it occupies, and smaller settlements and families have recognized rights over the areas where they reside, hunt, fish, and farm. There is also a notion of private property, especially in the area of an individual's personal effects – tools, cookware, hunting and fishing equipment, for example.

Within these various notions of ownership and use rights, there is also a strong injunction to share. A person who does not share is considered *amolik* (a greedy person), a name that Butt Colson calls “a term of the greatest opprobrium” (p. 277). When individuals and families are no longer using an area, its ownership returns to the larger group. Furthermore, there is no notion of land as an alienable possession that could be bought or sold as private property.

Land does a good job of building the case for the main claim in the text. By establishing the rootedness of the people of the Upper Mazaruni in what they regard as their ancestral homelands, Butt Colson convincingly argues that their land claims in the Upper Mazaruni are undeniably just, and that they

need to be assured a legal security of possession entrusted to them as a collectivity. Only in this way can they advance confidently into the future as a self-reliant, productive and innovative people, peacefully enjoying their territorial inheritance and, at the same time, making their own unique contribution to the nation as custodian-owners of one of the world's most beautiful and valued landscapes. (p. 353-54)

Caribbean Religious History: An Introduction. ENNIS B. EDMONDS & MICHELLE A. GONZALEZ. New York: New York University Press, 2010. xiii + 256 pp. (Cloth US\$ 70.00)

N. SAMUEL MURRELL
Philosophy & Religion
University of North Carolina, Wilmington
Wilmington NC 28409, U.S.A.
<murrells@uncw.edu>

Nearly thirty years after Dale Bisnauth of Guyana wrote the first history of religions in the Caribbean (1981), sociologists Ennis Edmonds and Michelle Gonzalez have published their much needed *Caribbean Religious History*

which, unlike Bisnauth's, documents the historical development and traditions of all the religions of the Caribbean. In the first chapter, they sketch the historical, geopolitical, social, cultural, and economic profiles of the Caribbean islands – with their multiethnic peoples and faltering multifaceted economies – and lay the foundation for the investigation of “the diverse religious expressions that reflect the historical evolution of the Caribbean [and] the heritage of its diverse diasporic peoples” (p. 13). The actual religious history of Caribbean peoples begins in Chapter 2 on a familiar motif, the indigenous people's world invaded and ravaged by Europeans. Here the authors offer a reconstruction of the history of original inhabitants of the Caribbean and chronicle what is known of their origin, way of life, and religious beliefs and practices, as well as the “catalogue of atrocities” (p. 38) they suffered under Spanish colonization.

Various mutations of Christianity occupy five of the nine chapters of the book. The coming of Spanish Catholicism into the region is integrally tied to the Catholic control of the Iberian Peninsula, European conquest of the Americas, colonialism, and slavery, the quest for wealth, and ideas relating to the “civilization” of “heathen” peoples. The religious history of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo, from the 1500s to the Haitian Revolution, is dominated by Catholicism (pp. 54-64); here, the church was a tool for colonization, maintenance of the slave plantation economy, and Christianization of enslaved peoples. Catholicism, seen through postcolonial lenses, aided the Spanish crown in controlling the Greater Antilles, owned a third of Cuba's riches, and controlled its educational system and cultural life through its hundreds of priests and missionaries up until the independence movement of the 1920s. Catholicism remained a dominant colonial force in the region well into the early nineteenth century (p. 56), and was not exclusively Spanish; before it arrived in the Americas, it was “thoroughly influenced and shaped by other European and African religious worldviews” (p. 47). Catholicism entered Congolese religious space “not through the transatlantic slave trade in the Americas but instead through the conversion” of Africans on the continent; this Congolese-Catholicism provided the philosophical foundation for the “evangelization of slaves in the New World” and shaped Haitian Catholicism and Vodou (pp. 58-62). Catholicism, of course, provided another cosmological framework for practicing African religions – especially Roman Catholic Medieval Marian devotion, “patronal” festivals for honoring saints, and religious leadership structure. It supported confraternities where Africans preserved their traditional religious culture during slavery; it provided a safe haven for slaves; and it became an advocate for emancipation and the dignity of African life in some colonies. Locally born priests took a stand against Catholic domination and died fighting for the independence movement in Cuba and Dominican Republic (pp. 54-57).

Edmonds and Gonzalez tie the rise of Protestantism in the Caribbean to European challenges to Spanish hegemony in the Americas, political conquest, slavery, and colonial missionary endeavors. In Dutch Caribbean colonies, Christianity followed the settlement of the Dutch West India Company (early 1600s) as an enterprise supported by colonial governments (p. 69). The Church of England was “an integral part of the colonial venture” and reflected the church-state marriage existing in Europe. Nonconformist missionaries battled Church of England dominance and control of economic resources and the lives of Africans in British colonies, as Quakers, Presbyterians, Moravians, Methodists, and Baptists sought a foothold in the Caribbean “mission field,” for the conversion of Africans. A few of these realized measured success in converting Africans through antislavery and pro-abolitionist teachings. All of the Protestants claimed to have brought a “purer” form of Christianity to the Americas, but few nonconformist churches escaped the foibles and shortcomings that plagued the dominant Anglo and Catholic churches (p. 65-90).

Edmonds and Gonzales confine Santería, Palo Monte, Vodou, Abakua, and Espiritismo to one chapter in which they discuss the religions’ early history, essential beliefs, and practices. These faiths share similar paradoxical experiences: they were byproducts of slavery but tools in the fight against oppression under colonialism; they suffered persecution from colonial authorities and Christianity but thrived in adversity; they found their religious origins, identity, cosmology, conception of the human person, and original practices in Africa (Santería from Nigerian Yoruba, Palo Monte and Haitian Vodou largely from religions of the Congo); and they were creolized by circumstances in the Caribbean. Immigrants brought Santería and Vodou to the United States where they maintain a lively presence. In spite of the traumatic experiences that lie at their roots, African-derived religions remain a vital part of Afro-Caribbean spirituality, struggle, and history (pp. 94-119).

The structure of *Caribbean Religious History* detracts from its impressive scholarship and historic importance. Pentecostalism is oddly positioned in Chapter 7 and it is unclear why Obeah, Myal, Kumina, and Orisha are grouped as Afro-Christian faiths; followers of these traditions reject the Christian label. Some of these religions are limited to one- or two-page glosses while Christianity dominates the book. The Spiritual Baptists receive twice the space of Orisha; Rastafari – the most comprehensively treated religion in the book – gets twice the space of both Vodou and Santería; and Islam and Hinduism are trivialized in five paltry pages as religions of migration and revitalization. Much of Chapter 9 is a diversion, and some stylistic problems in the book were missed by copyeditors. In spite of all this, the book is indispensable in the study of Caribbean religions. It is already a staple supplemental text for my Caribbean Religions course.

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The Cross and the Machete: Native Baptists of Jamaica – Identity, Ministry and Legacy. DEVON DICK. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009. xx + 308 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

JOHN W. PULIS
Department of Anthropology
Hofstra University
Hempstead NY 11549-1000, U.S.A.
<John.W.Pulis@hofstra.edu>

The series of events that led to the formation of the United States precipitated the removal of enslaved Americans who opted to serve the British rather than the patriots. Known as “black loyalists,” these former slaves were dispersed throughout the Empire where they played key roles in Canada, England, Africa, and the West Indies. *The Cross and the Machete* discusses the influence of these individuals on the emergence of what has become known as Native Baptists in Jamaica. Devon Dick traces the formation of this association (I hesitate to say sect) from its inception in the eighteenth century to its influence on the Morant Bay Rebellion. Along the way readers are introduced to George Liele, Moses Baker, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle, George William Gordon, and a number of less well-known players in Jamaican history.

As pastor of the Boulevard Baptist Church, Devon Dick is well-positioned to undertake such a project. This book, a revised dissertation (University of Warwick), is a sequel to *Rebellion to Riot: The Jamaican Church in Nation Building*. Both publications in the series focus on Morant Bay. *The Cross and the Machete* is composed of seven chapters plus a foreword by Rex Nettleford. Dick’s interest was tweaked by a reenactment staged with his congregation and by a lecture he delivered before a local historical society. Morant Bay is considered a key event in Jamaican history and most historians have, according to Dick, downplayed the importance of religion in their analyses. Dick calls for a more nuanced approach and he turns, like Paul Bogle and George William Gordon before him, to Native Baptists, examining their origins and theology as precursor to what he calls the “Native Baptist

War of 1865" (Chapters 1-5). He prefers the term Native Baptist War rather than Morant Bay Rebellion because it suggests continuity with earlier events such as the Baptist War (1831). These chapters, however, function as context or background to event-analysis rather than as a history of Native Baptists. We nevertheless learn much about them. The remainder of this review will focus less on Morant Bay and the merits of event-analysis and more on what the book tells us about this unique formation.

Dick is correct in noting that Native Baptists have been accorded short shrift in most narratives and historical reconstructions. Although they have African elements and features they are not survivals or reinterpretations along the lines of Obeah, Myal, or Kumina, Dick traces their origin to the arrival of George Liele and Moses Baker in 1783. Armed with proclamations guaranteeing their freedom (and supported by sympathetic governors), they drafted covenants, constructed chapels (Windward Rd., Crooked Spring), and established congregations that crisscrossed the island. Rather than regurgitate a litany of now dated publications Dick should have heeded his "mantra" (p. xviii; "read everything") and mined the wealth of recent scholarship on loyalists and their diaspora. Had he done so he could have pushed these chapters beyond the text-centered method he criticizes (historical-critical) to realize the full potential of reader-response criticism (see pp. 17-20, 41). This is a critical point that bears elaboration. The island of Jamaica has produced several narratives (oral and printed) and the voice of Native Baptists was first silenced by the Colonial Assembly (anti-preaching laws, 1802-1804) and later co-opted and buried within the ink and pages of various mission histories (Baptist, Wesleyan, Presbyterian). Dick would have broken new ground had he brought his call for reader-response criticism to bear on liberating the voices imprisoned within these texts. This is not to suggest that he glosses these accounts. He does not. He deconstructs the identity popularized by missionaries and disseminated in novels and tabloids. We must bear in mind, however, that aurality has long been a primary means of communication and this legacy (Identity, Ministry, Legacy) is alive and well in the present, epitomized by those who recognize the divinity of Rastafari. Dick's failure to hear this is a shortcoming that speaks as much to the limitations of event-analysis as it does to the orthodoxy of his vision.

Liele and Baker drafted what they called covenants and Chapter 3 submits them to a close reading. These documents are all important because they open a window onto the past and offer the possibility of telling us about a critical juncture in the formation of this group. Dick, however, was neither the first nor the only scholar to have offered insights and commentary. Several versions, editions if you will, were codified in print. An original copy was placed on deposit in the Colonial Record Office by Liele (September 1795); a copy of this copy was printed (with modifications) by the Baptist Missionary Society (1796) and re-published in Baptist periodicals

(*General Baptist Repository*). This copy was “lost” for a century only to be “rediscovered” during the 1960s when it was reprinted in a Baptist periodical (*Foundations*) and later submitted to a close reading by Mechal Sobel (1988:150-52). All documents are subject to multiple interpretations and each reading has contributed to our understanding of a problematic. Because Liele and Baker have been accorded the status of martyrs in Baptist narratives, Dick’s account would have profited greatly had he stepped outside and turned his attention to deconstructing this iconography.

Morant Bay is a key but Dick glosses a legacy embodied by preachers such as Harrison Woods, Alexander Bedward, and others in the decades that followed. By limiting these chapters to background and confining his analysis to ur-types we learn little about the way Native Baptists constructed an alternate and oppositional history of the island and its people. Dick has nevertheless done a service by laying the groundwork for a story that remains to be told.

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RICHARD L. KAGAN
Department of History
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.
<kagan@jhu.edu>

Specializing in the field of Jewish history, especially as it relates to the Atlantic diaspora sparked by the expulsion of Sephardic Jews from Spain in 1492, Jonathan Schorsch is best known for *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World*. This important work, based primarily on the inquisitorial records, both Spanish and Portuguese, documented the “contradictions” and “ambivalences” of Jewish-Black relations in the early modern Ibero-Atlantic world.

Inquisition records also constitute the basis of Schorsch's new, two-volume study, which again focuses on the relations between Jews, judeoconvertos, and blacks, and to a much lesser degree, Amerindians. It also centers on the Ibero-Atlantic, although the Dutch colonies of Suriname and Curaçao make cameo appearances insofar as they were home to relatively large concentrations of Jewish traders and landowners, many of whom owned plantations worked by retinues of black slaves. Schorsch's aim in this work is to demonstrate the extent to which the racial and religious prejudices generally associated with white Christians permeated the various subaltern groups – Jews, judeoconvertos, mulattos, mestizos, blacks, and so forth – to which they were originally directed. The key question is the manner in which these subalterns (Schorsch's language) wielded these prejudices in their relations with one another. Did these subalterns treat one another in the same fashion as white Christians treated them? The answer: both yes and no, a conclusion which echoes that of Schorsch's previous treatment of this subject.

Thematically, this book goes over much of the same ground as Schorsch's earlier work, albeit with the addition of new material highlighting the complexity inherent in the relations between the Jews, judeoconvertos, and blacks. This material is spread somewhat thin, and is only loosely connected by argument and theme. Each chapter reads as an independent essay highlighting what Schorsch calls "textual moments and physical sites of interaction" (p. 2), and alternatively, "explorations of day-to-day ethnology," which are both elaborate ways of saying that they revolve around archival documents that have some bearing on the topic of interracial and interreligious interaction. Schorsch, however, is often at pains to determine what these interactions mean. For example, the two chapters based largely on inquisitorial records from the port town of Cartagena de Indias offer instances of Jews behaving badly toward blacks and blacks treating both Jews and judeoconvertos in the same way. In the end the only conclusion drawn from this confusing smorgasbord of "textual moments" is that of a multi-ethnic, polyglot city in which racial epithets of various kinds figured in daily discourse, a message that does not come as much of a surprise.

The book's other chapters do not amount to much more. Rather, contrasts and contradictions abound. Material from Suriname – well-studied elsewhere by Aviva Ben-Ur (2009) – offers glimpses of Jewish slaveowners in Suriname who endeavored to convert their slaves to the law of Moses and in doing so created a population of "colored Jews." Yet, as another chapter focused on Curaçao makes clear, Jewish and judeoconverso plantation owners in that island colony acted quite differently, doing little, if anything, to promote the spiritual welfare of their slaves. Were these two slave regimes so fundamentally different that paternalism of Jewish slaveowners in Suriname was absent in Curaçao? Unfortunately, the contradiction is left unresolved, and Schorsch essentially throws up his hands when he admits that "unfor-

tunately, space does not permit the full unpacking [of these issues that] they deserve,” an explanation that is hardly credible in a two-volume work.

Far more successful than these smorgasbord chapters are those in which Schorsch settles down to provide micro-histories of a specific case. One details the adventures and misadventures of Esperanza Pedraza, a mulatta widow, once married to a judeoconverso in Puebla (New Spain), who was arrested on charges of judaizing during the infamous roundup of judeoconversos that was ordered by the Inquisition in both New Spain and Peru in the 1640s. Equally fascinating is the lengthy (over 90-page) chapter on Antonio Montezinos, the seventeenth-century converso of Portuguese background who “discovered” what he claimed to be a lost tribe of Jews living as Indians high in the Andes.¹

In the main, however, extended narratives centered on particular instances of interracial/inter-religious relations are few. As a result most of the book resembles the historical equivalent of semi-digested archeological field notes: they record a series of archival “finds” – Schorsch’s “textual moments” – that ostensibly address a particular question, but lack both chronological and geographical coherence, and in many cases, a conclusion. The overall impression is that of a series of out takes that failed to find a place in Schorsch’s previous study and are loosely assembled here.

In the end, reading *Swimming the Christian Atlantic* is much like swimming against the tide. Some of the book’s “textual moments” are more revealing than others, and I imagine specialists will mine them for both anecdotes and examples for years to come. Left unresolved, however, are questions concerning the origins of the racial and religious prejudices that figure centrally in this book. Schorsch contends that the subalterns he studies did little more than assimilate the racial and religious attitudes and prejudices previously formulated by dominant – meaning white Christian – groups of the Atlantic world. But were not these subalterns incapable of crafting prejudices of their own? Complicating matters yet further is the famed “curse of Ham,” which commentators, both Jewish and Christian, often interpreted in racial terms and which prefigured and indeed facilitated the enslavement of blacks by generations of Iberian traders, including those of Jewish origin. Societies throughout history manifest prejudice, even outright hostility toward groups whose customs, color, and religion differ from their own. From this perspective, the subalterns featured in this study were surely capable of developing racial and religious prejudices independently of the dominant classes, but this aspect of Atlantic history is one that this study, for all the inherent interest of the many cases it examines, does not fully address.

1. Among other studies on Montezinos, see Perelis 2009.

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Kosmos und Kommunikation: Weltkonzeptionen in der südamerikanischen Sprachfamilie der Cariben. ERNST HALBMAYER. Vienna: Facultas Verlag, 2010. 688 pp. (Paper €40.00)

EITHNE B. CARLIN
 Languages and Cultures of Native America
 Leiden University Centre for Linguistics
 2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands
 <E.B.Carlin@hum.leidenuniv.nl>

The last forty years have seen a plethora of ethnographic, anthropological, and linguistic publications on various groups that belong to the Cariban language family, one of the largest language families in South America. The ethnography of these Amerindian groups, however, is largely fragmented with the researchers hailing from different traditions, writing in various languages, notably English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, and focusing on different aspects of the cultures. This has been an obstacle to the formulation of a comparative model of the social and political lives of the Cariban groups. Only twice before has a comparative approach been offered, namely by Claude Levi-Strauss with his *Mythologiques* and Peter Rivière with his *Individual and Society in Guiana* (1984). Both of these books tended to focus on the invariant or shared core common to several Amerindian groups, and were restricted in their scope and their methodological capacities: the former deals mainly with cosmology and the latter with the social organization.

With the two volumes that make up *Kosmos and Kommunikation*, the Austrian anthropologist Ernst Halbmayer offers us an alternative model, one that he modestly claims will contribute to a renewed comparative anthropology and to the methodological problems of a comparative analysis. In fact he succeeds in doing what Rivière set out to do, namely produce a comparison based on and using the salient native categories, rather than a top-down overtheorized approach characteristic of current anthropology of the area. From the outset, Halbmayer clarifies his position within the current anthropological debate and distances himself from the tendency among many of his colleagues to theorize for the sake of theory, a development he decries as an immunization against empirical irritations. His main contention is that the current theories operate with empirically untestable axioms and assumptions which are not questioned by colleagues but which are indiscriminately taken over by them.

He sets out his objectives unambiguously: to make a positive contribution to different scientific discourses, in particular the anthropology of Lowland South America; to contribute to a renewed comparative anthropology and its methodological concerns; and to shine a new light and stimulate renewed reflection on the current theoretical, often implicit, assumptions as to what constitutes society, personhood, and nature. In order to do this, Halbmayer does not base his analysis on the usual aprioristically chosen variables. Rather, he starts from case studies of maximally different groups which guide and inform the comparison. At the basis of his comparison is information gleaned from the transformational (historical) processes of the nine relevant groups he studies (in particular from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), his own extensive fieldwork, and a general interest in the forms of social organization and forms of sociality as determined less by the “social” than the spiritual-cosmological. This latter Halbmayer terms the *socioverse* (*Sozioversum*). Departing from the question of the form of the social, Halbmayer’s basis for comparison is the form, not of the unity, or invariant core, but rather of the differentiation, of the *socioverse*.

While taking as his starting point the concepts of house and village and moving seamlessly through to landscape and the spiritual shamanistic geography of “worlds,” that is, “houses” in the cosmos, Halbmayer takes nine geographically non-contiguous Cariban groups from four distinct areas of South America. His case studies deal with four maximally different groups from Greater Guyana (the Yekuana, Pemon, Akuriyo, and Waiwai); three from the River Xingu area (the Ikpeng and Arara, and the Kalapalo from the Upper Xingu); one from North West Amazonia, namely Carijona (Karihona), spoken in Colombia; and one from the northern Andean Lowlands, namely the Yukpa of Venezuela and Colombia, the group with which Halbmayer is most familiar since this is where he has done his most extensive fieldwork. Each of the groups is dealt with in turn proceeding from the house or village

to the cosmology. The information given in these descriptions is an excellent and insightful analysis and summary of the various sources.

Volume 1 encompasses seven chapters, with Chapters 1 through 4 laying out in great detail the background and methodology, introducing the Cariban language family, and describing the previous focus of anthropological research on the groups of the Cariban family. Chapter 5 is a short comparative discussion of the surrounding Tupi-Guarani and Arawakan matrices. Chapter 6 deals with the anthropology of four disparate and maximally different groups of Greater Guyana, namely the Yekuana of the Roraima area in Venezuela and Brazil; the Pemon of Roraima, Venezuela, and Guyana; the Akuriyo of Suriname; and the Waiwai of Guyana, Brazil, and Suriname. Underlying this choice of groups is Rivière's notion of the invariant core of Guiana social organization, and his distinction between the forest types (Yekuana and Waiwai) and the savannah type (Pemon). As nomadic hunters and gatherers the Akuriyo fall outside of Rivière's model, as do the Waiwai who have been establishing multi-ethnic villages since the 1950s. Chapter 7 offers a comparison of these four Guianan groups and an initial attempt at formulating the theory.

Volume 2 consists of five chapters, three on the selected Cariban groups of the Xingu, one on the Yupka of the Northern Andean Lowlands, and one that looks again at the objectives initially set out for the book and establishes questions and directions for future research.

This book offers a refreshing and critical approach to Amazonian and Tropical Lowland anthropology, in particular relating to the Cariban groups. There are a few minor points of criticism, namely that literature after 2008, apart from Halbmayer's own writings, is lacking in the bibliography. Although it is of course inevitable in a book of this size, some errors in group affiliation could have been avoided: the Taruma of Guyana form an isolate and are not Arawakan as is generally claimed. All in all, this is a book that one would immediately want to use in the classroom. It is lucidly and elegantly written, well-argued, and solid. Halbmayer has struck a blow against the current hegemony of Amazonian anthropology, finally!

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That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution. LARS SCHOULTZ. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. x + 745 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

ANTONI KAPCIA

Department of Spanish, Portuguese & Latin American Studies

University of Nottingham

Nottingham NG7 2RD, U.K.

<a.kapcia@nottingham.ac.uk>

Faced with this voluminous study of U.S.-Cuban relations, one asks what it can offer that previous studies (e.g. Pérez 1998, 2008 or Paterson 1994) have not, other than detail. It does indeed give detail – in extensive and always useful quantities – but also offers historical breadth and shares some earlier studies' sensitivity to Cuban concerns and politics. It is simply an excellent, thorough, and compendious volume.

The title reflects that sensitivity, quoting a characteristically dismissive Theodore Roosevelt, exasperated by Cuban unrest in 1905, despite the Platt Amendment. For Schoultz's picture of U.S. motivations, policies, and actions over two centuries is one of repeated well-intentioned crassness at best but downright supremacist racism at worst. The excellent introduction makes that abundantly clear: with a wry anecdotal style, Schoultz sketches out and locates those motivations and actions within an ideological framework, whose "civilizing mission" was still evident in Bush's 2004 "transition" plan. He argues that post-1959 policy toward Cuba has largely rejected outright invasion, but preferred either to confront Cuba through state-sponsored terrorism or (quoting LBJ) to "pinch their nuts" (p. 5) or to regard Cuba as an issue not worth time, energy, or money.

The study's meat is the post-1959 detail (mostly garnered from U.S. official sources), but it is preceded by a chapter tracing a breakneck journey through the previous 140 years, from Jefferson and Adams, through annexationism, jingoism, and racism (especially in envoys' reports). Despite its pace and scope, its treatment is still thorough, highlighting complexities and ending with the 1958 uncertainty and suspicion about Fidel Castro – reminding us of the subsequent permanent tendency of U.S. politicians to focus on him alone.

What follows is a blow-by-blow narrative not so much of the relationship as of U.S. policies, seen here through the successive presidencies, but with a remarkable internal logic which overrides otherwise logical considerations of their futility or counterproductive effects. It is a narrative whose detail adds considerably to our understanding: when and why decisions were made;

when and how sanctions were applied, and travel bans increased; the story of successive “boatlifts”; the process of involvement in Angola; and the evolution of both the 1992 Torricelli and 1996 Helms-Burton laws.

For Eisenhower, the relationship was short; that chapter traces its steady breakdown and recounts the electorally motivated start of the longest (and least effective?) economic sanctions in history. Eisenhower also created the Bay of Pigs invasion, a picture rigorously painted through the divergent interpretations and Schoultz’s own assessment of it as a venture which was logical at one level (given the CIA’s prestige), but based throughout on wishful thinking, poor knowledge, and political bravado. For Kennedy, the relationship was also short, but damaging, with the 1961 debacle generating “state-sponsored terrorism” and the full embargo, which, empowered by the 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act, confirmed the Cuban view of the embargo as an act of war. Despite Johnson’s rhetoric, he actually did very little on the Cuban front, apart from persuading others to reduce sea traffic. For him and Nixon, of course, Vietnam was the greater concern; both were aware that (personal dislikes aside – as with Nixon) Cuba was no longer a significant issue but an irritant. Indeed, in 1975, Kissinger (although fresh from the Chilean intervention) broached the possibility of improved relations (as Cuba’s continental exclusion disintegrated), only to unleash opposition from interests now well entrenched in the U.S. political scene.

Those elements were enraged by Carter who, argues Schoultz, despite his dependence on the “Cold Warrior” Brzezinski, improved relations with Havana, easing travel restrictions for U.S. citizens and establishing interest sections in third-party embassies in 1977. However, as is well recounted here, Cuba’s African involvements stymied further improvements and, together with Mariel, added to Carter’s image on the rampant Right.

That Right emerged with a vengeance under Reagan, in whose ideological perspective (bolstered by Haig and Kirkpatrick) Cuba was a Soviet satellite and acted accordingly. Not only did he help to launch a new Cuban-American lobby (CANF) and Radio Martí, but also threatened Cuba through disproportionately large naval manoeuvres, finally reaching catharsis with Grenada. Schoultz then goes on to argue that for the Bush Sr. presidency Cuba figured more prominently in discussions with Gorbachev than logic suggested, seemingly attributable to his awareness of Florida’s growing electoral importance. However, we are reminded that it was he, and not Clinton, who invented the notorious “Twin Track” policy toward Cuba; indeed it probably dates from Walt Rostow, under Kennedy.

What followed was Clinton himself – whose wavering policy is well documented, albeit with a surprisingly cursory treatment of the seminal Elián González episode (which changed Cuban political life and probably cost Gore the presidency) – and George W. Bush, two presidencies where Schoultz focuses less on diplomacy than with previous administrations and more on

Congressional politics, as the anti-embargo lobby grew, and as, from 2003, Bush launched a Reaganesque attempt to end “the Cuba problem” forever.

What then do we make of the book? Most obviously, it is a reference book *par excellence*, a goldmine for anyone seeking the facts, which, though difficult reading at times, is always fascinating. However, it goes beyond that, for Schoultz succeeds in depicting a remarkable continuity in U.S. attitudes, and draws attention to normally neglected issues: the irritant posed by Cuba’s approach to Puerto Rico; McNamara’s determination to invade Cuba in 1962 (confirming Cuban fears); and the curious intermediary role of Bernardo Benes. Ultimately, therefore, it is an invaluable addition to the literature and to any library’s shelves.

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Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba. IVOR L. MILLER. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009. xx + 364 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

ELIZABETH PÉREZ
Religion Department
Dartmouth College
Hanover NH 03755, U.S.A.
<Elizabeth.Perez@Dartmouth.edu>

Of the Afro-Cuban initiatory traditions that crystallized during the transatlantic slave trade, the most maligned and least understood has been the all-male secret society called Abakuá. Anglophone studies of this tradition reached a critical mass in the last decade, however, beginning with María Teresa Vélez’s *Drumming for the Gods* (2000) and David H. Brown’s *The Light*

Inside (2003). Ivor Miller, who co-authored *Ifá Will Mend Our Broken World: Thoughts on Yorùbá Religion and Culture in Africa and the Diaspora* with Wande Abimbola, now brings research on Abakuá to a new level in *Voice of the Leopard*.

Meticulously investigated and densely evocative, the book documents the sacred sodalities first organized into lodges in the Cross River basin, and later re-imagined on Cuban land. It deftly tracks the transformation of Abakuá into a mutual-aid organization, first for enslaved practitioners, then for creole working-class urban blacks and their white counterparts. Although *Voice of the Leopard* is at its most pleasurable and provocative when exploring the contribution of Abakuá music to Cuban national identity, Miller's painstaking chronological account of the emergence of Abakuá lodges stands to become definitive.

This is not to say that *Voice of the Leopard* is beyond reproach. Some flaws are so minor as to be negligible; for instance, while a cursory outline of the Abakuá origin myth would have been useful, the informed reader will have no trouble finding accessible versions of the same elsewhere. More serious critiques deserve to be aired not because they detract from the book's considerable achievement, but in order to highlight the importance of the theoretical and methodological issues they raise for all scholars of Caribbean traditions.

When so many of the arguments made in any academic field suffer from a lack of persuasive power, it seems churlish to suggest that Miller has proven his main point only too well; that is, one never doubts that there has been a significant historical connection between the continental African leopard society Ékpè and Abakuá. By marshaling overwhelming evidence for this link, Miller intends for his study to "confirm" the veracity of his interlocutors' narratives, thus validating the objective truth of their contentions, primarily as embedded in oral tradition. However, the implications of a direct connection between Ékpè and Abakuá for contemporary scholarship, and the precise nature of his evidentiary claims, are not fleshed out.

It has been twenty years since David Scott (1991) described Afro-Atlantic scholarship as operating within a "verificationist paradigm," beholden to the affirmation of noble "pasts" for Afro-American peoples that could assist them in attaining social and political recognition. In a foreword to *Voice of the Leopard* that serves less as a framing device than a review of the attitudes towards Ékpè and Abakuá held by Miller's informants, a collaborator writes that "a serious researcher will be able to understand and justify our reality" (p. 23). Accordingly, the narratives of informants are often handled as if understanding and justification were synonymous. In fact, as an initiated "insider," Miller so fully identifies with key interlocutors that it is sometimes difficult to tell whose voice readers are supposed to be hearing in a given passage. Moreover, for Miller, the development of Abakuá runs parallel to Afro-Cuban self-empowerment, yet one suspects that the liberatory aspects

of Ékpè and Abakuá are too uncritically celebrated, at the risk of imposing a “dualistic logic of resistance and constraint” on traditions that offer far more than case studies in opposition to domination (see Mahmood 2005:27 n. 45).

Anthropologists may quarrel with Miller’s notion of culture as patrimony, and his treatment of “psyche” and historical memory. The approach to tradition as such in *Voice of the Leopard* has the unfortunate effect of casting it as a fixed quantity in perpetual danger of loss, with a “perfected,” unchangeable core, rather than endlessly (re-)constructed through contingent social processes. The tension between the sophisticated appreciation of tradition implicit in Miller’s dialogical data-gathering techniques, and the assessment of it made explicit in his analysis, remains unresolved.

Sociologists of religion may wish that the assertions made by Miller’s interlocutors had been more rigorously interrogated in order to illuminate the mechanisms of authority in Abakuá, as well as the rhetorical strategies employed to bolster claims to religious legitimacy more generally. (Miller’s citation of Pierre Bourdieu early on is promising, yet he does not go on to pursue an analysis in this vein.) Historians of religions may, for their part, wonder to what extent Miller oversimplifies the complex relationship between secrecy and power in liturgical speech and ritual practice, bearing in mind the material and ideological conditions of knowledge production regarding Abakuá (see Urban 1998). And many more will question Miller’s decision to omit references to reputable sources – for example, concerning the Abakuá influence on the Aponte rebellion of 1812 and the 1844 Conspiracy of La Escalera, or the denotational consistency of African ethnonyms in the colonial period – that contradict his own conclusions. These observations are made in hopes of providing an occasion for mutually beneficial clarification and interdisciplinary dialogue in Miller’s future publications.

Caveats notwithstanding, *Voice of the Leopard* is highly recommended as a teaching tool, particularly in courses on Afro-diasporic religions and music, alongside more basic explanatory texts. Scholars keen to surpass Miller’s accomplishment would do well to study it closely, and heed a proverb: “Only a lion can drink from the palm wine pot of the leopard.” A volume of comparable caliber, eagerly awaited, will have to create a mighty roar before earning even a small share of its predecessor’s accolades.

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Guantánamo: A Working-Class History Between Empire and Revolution. JANA K. LIPMAN. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. xii + 325 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

BARRY CARR
Department of History
Latrobe University
3089 Melbourne, Australia
<B.Carr@latrobe.edu.au>

Jana Lipman's fine book joins a growing collection of studies that examine Caribbean history from a transnational perspective and represents an important contribution to our knowledge of how empire and imperialism functioned in Cuba during the first seventy years of the twentieth century. Taking a micro-regional focus on the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay (referred to as GTMO in U.S. military parlance), Lipman explores the history of the base's workers, mostly Cuban but in recent years increasingly Jamaican and Filipino, who labored for the United States in manual, office, and domestic occupations.

While the main focus is on Cuban history prior to the Cuban Revolution of 1959, one especially interesting chapter examines the awkward, ambivalent, and unstable relations between the U.S. naval base and these same Cuban workers, albeit in steadily decreasing numbers, who still crossed over to GTMO every day from the neighboring cities of Guantánamo and Caimanera in the two decades after the triumph of the Revolution. Lipman's book, then, is both a labor history and a study of U.S.-Cuban diplomatic and international relations. The examination of the interplay between local, regional, national, and international politics, economics, and culture is one of the book's many strengths. Students of the history of U.S. imperialism and researchers commit-

ted to reconstructing how such conjunctures and metanarratives as the Good Neighbor Policy and the cold war were experienced and acted out by protagonists at the micro and local level will find the book particularly rewarding.

Lipman gracefully demonstrates both the hegemonic reach of U.S. empire as it enveloped Cuban workers in a web of obligations, loyalties, and reciprocal exchanges, as well as the real limits of that same U.S. imperial project. There are fascinating examinations of such topics as the ambivalent engagements of Cuban workers with U.S. popular culture and the quotidian practices of domestic life in U.S. housing and offices on the base; the moral economy of petty theft on the U.S. base; and the local manifestations of the corrupt trade union system associated at the national level with the labor boss, Eusebio Mujal. There's also a particularly interesting discussion of how Cuban base workers supported the anti-Batista insurrectionary movements led by the local branch of Castro's July 26th Movement.

In all of these areas Lipman emphasizes the contingent nature of behaviors on both the U.S. and Cuban side and the need to tread delicately around an intensely asymmetrical pattern of political and legal relations established by the 1903 administrative arrangements and their later modifications that governed the U.S. lease of GTMO. Lipman reconstructs in great detail the dynamics of what she calls "neo-colonial give and take" at the Guantánamo base. Here she exhibits considerable sensitivity to the ethnic and gender behaviors required by Jim Crow-influenced practices on the U.S. base, as well as the elaborate and always contradictory needs of Guantánamo civil society as it struggled to balance the drive to make as much money as possible from well-paid U.S. military personnel without upsetting the racial and class hierarchies that governed society in Caimanera and Guantánamo City.

Lipman's research is impressive. She has examined U.S. diplomatic, military, naval, and Marine records, as well as documents in the Cuban National Archives and the Guantánamo Provincial Archive. The book's achievements, however, are crucially dependent on her interviews with a group of men and women who were formerly employed as GTMO base workers, and whose memories, often contradictory and always complex, are deftly analyzed and discussed with the help of extensive quotations. Because many of these base workers are Cubans of British West Indian descent, Lipman's book is an important addition to a growing historical and ethnographic literature on the evolution of British West Indians in Cuba.

Guantánamo is still a major irritant in U.S.-Cuban relations and an ever more bizarre anomaly in the modern history of the Caribbean. These features are made even more controversial by the United States's decision to use GTMO as a detention and interrogation center that houses irregular combatants, most of them from the Middle East, captured in the course of U.S. military campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan. Lipman adopts a strongly critical stance on these contemporary manifestations of U.S. empire, but in spite of the abundant

anti-imperialist and cold war narratives that have shaped discussion of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, she has not been trapped in the prison of ideologically driven narratives as she argues her case – a major achievement.

Packaged Vacations: Tourism Development in the Spanish Caribbean. EVAN R. WARD. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. xxvi + 237 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

POLLY PATTULLO

Journalist, editor, and publisher

<pollyp@globalnet.co.uk>

The Habana Hilton opened in 1958. Less than a year later came Castro, and the brand-new luxury building decked out in Cuban art and artefacts became, somewhat bizarrely, both the headquarters for the Revolution and Castro's temporary home. For Conrad Hilton, the founder of the world's first hotel chain, it must all have been like a bad dream. But although Hilton saw tourism as a tool to fight the cold war in Latin America, he was pragmatic enough to want to wait around in Cuba and see if the Revolution and U.S. capital could co-exist. But by the end of 1959, the Habana Hilton had been renamed the Habana Libre and the Hilton management had closed up shop.

However, as Evan Ward's *Packaged Vacations* tells us, the former Habana Hilton would play its part in another piece of tourism history. The hotel had staggered on under Cuban management until the early 1990s. By then Castro seems to have long realized that the Cubans lacked expertise in tourism management, as he reached out to European investors, in particular the Spanish. "We are going to acquire an enormous amount of experience on how to manage a hotel," he asserted. "This is not an ideological matter, it is a technical matter, it is a scientific matter" (p. 143).

So, in 1993, the Habana Libre was handed over to the Spanish-owned Guitart Hotel Company. A few months later the Cuban Communist Party held a meeting to address the knotty problem of tourism development. Castro was there and was told that the hotel's new management had almost halved the number of staff and that the hotel was working more efficiently than ever before. Then Castro interrogated a delegate about pre-Guitart life at the hotel. Told that 720 people had been taking their meals at the hotel although they were neither employees nor guests, Castro (temperature clearly rising) said: "Do you think a tourism industry can prosper that way? I ask you, comrades,

tell me the truth: Do you think a hotel where approximately 700 people with nothing to do with the hotel are eating can be a hotel for tourism? In what country of the world?" (p. 146). Indeed.

The merit of this book is in such intriguing detail. *Packaged Vacations* looks at the way mass tourism emerged in the Spanish Caribbean from the 1940s onwards. Ward, an assistant professor of history at the University of North Alabama, has delved deep. In particular, he is adept at recounting how those grandiose U.S. investors of the post-war period, Hilton and the Rockefeller brothers, set up their hotels ("cathedrals of comfort") in Venezuela, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic. He also looks at how the decline of U.S. investment then prompted the emergence of both local private sector development and the growing influence of European (primarily Spanish) hoteliers, airlines, and tour companies who achieved vertical integration in a way that the Americans had failed to sustain.

Ward offers both Cancún, Mexico, and the Punta Cana resort development in the Dominican Republic – the latter initiated in 1968 by a local Dominican businessman and a New York attorney – as examples of how isolated and empty stretches of tropical coastlines became consumed by tourism. This was uncharted territory – to develop vast tourism complexes away from urban hubs. Both, if measured in terms of tourist arrivals, have been extraordinary successes. Cancún is now seen as "one of the most powerful regions of the world, touristically speaking" (p. 134), while nearly two million tourists arrive yearly at Punta Cana's international airport.

So far so good, and, as Ward says, there is a dearth of historical storytelling in the literature of tourism. But what this book ignores is the social, environmental, and economic impact of tourism development on the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. There is, indeed, an epilogue – a sort of "whatever happened to." However, this consists of a mere eight pages of what Ward calls "on-site observations" where he reports on visits to the three main hubs discussed in the book – Varadero (Cuba), Punta Cana-Bávaro, and Cancún. He visits Cuba and finds Germans and Italians on the beach "darkly tanned, in their Speedos" (p. 186) and Chinese tourists taking a sea bath at sunset. In Cancún, he notices the post-Hurricane Wilma devastation. In Punta Cana he observes – in about the only piece of insight into the fraught complexities of tourism development – how the delightful architecture of the residential homes contrasts with the unloved, polluted public space.

These ad hoc and slightly mundane observations do not answer the question that he poses at the beginning. In his introduction, Ward writes that "the tourism industry has often neglected to see the relevance of its past ... to its future" (p. xvii). He hopes that this study will fill that void. But that, it seems to me, is not what has been achieved. His research on the setting up of tourism hubs in the Spanish Caribbean makes for interesting reading but he has little to say about the legacy of these initiatives. How much has tourism delivered for

the people of the Spanish Caribbean? How far should the pioneers of tourism be held responsible for the complex problems experienced by those mass tourism destinations today? What clues might we have that these initiatives have brought unsustainable growth: environmental degradation, impoverished conditions of workers in the tourism industry, displacement of local communities, increased crime, and so on. That, too, is part of the region's history. The lack of even a cursory glance at these issues makes me uneasy and less sympathetic than I might have been toward this accomplished narrative of that era when tourism was seen as the engine of growth for a modern Caribbean.

Afro-Greeks: Dialogues Between Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Classics in the Twentieth Century. EMILY GREENWOOD. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. x + 298 pp. (Cloth US\$ 99.00)

GREGSON DAVIS
Department of Classical Studies
Duke University
Durham NC 27708-0103, U.S.A.
<gdav@duke.edu>

In the opening lines of one of his most excruciatingly self-searching poems, "Homecoming: Anse La Raye," the St. Lucian poet and Nobel laureate, Derek Walcott, employs the hyphenated expression "Afro-Greeks" to designate bright young pupils (including himself) participating in a secondary school class on his native island:

Whatever else we learned
at school, like solemn Afro-Greeks eager for grades,
of Helen and the shades
of borrowed ancestors...

Emily Greenwood's monograph takes this witty neologism as an analytical frame of reference for a penetrating investigation of the diverse ways in which prominent Anglophone Caribbean authors and political leaders of an earlier, pioneering, generation appropriated aspects of Greco-Roman civilization in their efforts to shape their own idealized visions of a distinctive Caribbean national identity. The topic encapsulated in the Walcott tag is crucial to a deeper understanding of the intellectual formation of the colonized

educational elite in the British West Indies in the mid-twentieth century, though it has been largely relegated to the sidelines of the mainstream critical discourse as a source of piquant and entertaining anecdotes. Greenwood has performed an invaluable service to “postcolonial” scholarship by her engaging account based on meticulous research in regional archives and libraries, as well as on interviews with some of the surviving players in the field.

In her wide-ranging study she makes astute use of a foil that occupies a segment of her initial chapter, “An Accidental Homer,” in which she offers insights into the nostalgic invocation of Greek literature (mainly Homer’s *Odyssey*) on the part of a famous European visitor to the Caribbean archipelago, Patrick Leigh Fermor. His acclaimed travelogue, *The Traveler’s Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands*, is marked by random reminiscences of the Aegean islands. Her book’s main focus, however, is not on deconstructing European works that make tenuous associations between the societies of ancient Greece and the New World, but rather on teasing out the complex stratagems that Caribbean creative writers have elaborated in their quest to make sense of their hybrid, or more accurately, multifarious cultural identity. The second chapter, “Classics as a School of Empire,” documents just how central an education in the Classical languages (mainly Latin) was to the disseminated standard curriculum that the British Empire imposed upon its far-flung colonies. The homogenized system of certification via centralized testing ensured that “the sun never set” on young British subjects laboring over the text of Virgil’s *Aeneid* and Caesar’s *Galic Wars*. As a native of the Leeward Islands ex-colony of Antigua and currently a Professor of Classical Studies and Comparative Literature at Duke University, I may be regarded as an exemplar of a species of “Afro-Greek.” My experience in reading this book has been occasionally akin to seeing my reflection in a mirror. As a product of an elitist system of secondary education modeled on the British public school with its Arnoldian faith in the Greco-Roman literary canon, I can attest to the accuracy of Greenwood’s sketches of the formation of West Indian intellectuals of the stature of the Trinidadians C.L.R. James and Eric Williams. She demonstrates ably that the *Bildung* of most of the major writers in the former British West Indies (the list includes Edward Brathwaite, Austin Clarke, and Derek Walcott) was shaped in nontrivial ways by a Classical (mostly Latin) canon in which the Augustan poets, Virgil and Horace, have a prominent place. Most importantly, she shows by way of well-chosen examples how the assimilation of that canon, in literary as well as linguistic terms, did not take place without a concurrent critique of that very tradition.

In her third and fourth chapters she explores this critical subtext in regard to both literature and politics. In the former category, she illustrates the subtle narrative technique of deliberate “misquotation” on the part of the novelists Austin Clarke and V.S. Naipaul, among others. Especially acute is her reading of Naipaul’s manipulation of lines from Virgil’s *Aeneid* in his novel, *A Bend in the River*, whereby a Latin quotation becomes “the subject of

transformative irony.” On the political side, she discusses C.L.R. James’s paradoxical appropriation of Athenian democracy as a countermodel to the modern British version, and as a spur to envisaging a unique polity to emerge in the newly independent nation of Trinidad & Tobago.

Greenwood’s analytical approach to her subject owes much to a flourishing new subfield in Classics that is mainly taking hold in the United Kingdom, though its adherents are rapidly increasing on both sides of the Atlantic. Commonly referred to by its exponents as “reception studies,” it has also spawned a vibrant area of investigation that might be called “post-colonial reception studies.” Several volumes of scholarly essays along these lines have now appeared in prestigious academic presses in Britain, including Goff 2005, Graziosi and Greenwood 2007, and Hardwick and Gillespie 2007. Greenwood has made significant contributions to this renaissance in an earlier article, “We speak Latin in Trinidad: Uses of Classics in Caribbean Literature,” which was manifestly propaedeutic to the book under review. In her final chapter, “Caribbean Classics and the Postcolonial Canon,” she offers summary reflections on the skillful annexation by Caribbean creative writers of Greco-Roman literature as a “site of cultural resistance” (p. 252).

Afro-Greeks is a thoughtful and eloquent account of the complex strategic space that leading Caribbean intellectuals have carved out for themselves in a postcolonial landscape. It is worth noting that parallel developments in the literary-critical sphere have taken place in the Francophone Caribbean. While Greenwood’s main focus is on the Anglophone territories, she does give an occasional glance at influential theoretical formulations of French Antillean writers, such as the Martiniquan, Édouard Glissant. Her book is a welcome revision to the prevailing orientation of postcolonial literary scholarship, which tends to consign the fundamental topic of Classical *Bildung* to the margins of critical inquiry.

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Caribbean Culture: Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite. ANNIE PAUL (ed.). Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2007. vii + 439 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

PAGET HENRY
Sociology & Africana Studies
Brown University
Providence RI 02912, U.S.A.
<paget_henry@brown.edu>

Caribbean Culture: Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite is a strong collection of essays on this distinguished Caribbean poet, critic, and historian. Many of the papers were originally presented at a 2002 conference on the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies to celebrate and evaluate the work of this great Barbadian writer. All together, the volume consists of twenty-two essays, plus an insightful introduction by Nardi Edwards. Editor Annie Paul has divided them into seven major sections, which we can reduce to three for this review: music and the word in Brathwaite, the writing of Caribbean history, and creolization, gender, and subalternity.

The strongest and most engaging essays in this comprehensive treatment of Brathwaite's work are in the section on music and the word. The essay by Kofi Anyidoho, which opens the volume, focuses on the particular way in which Brathwaite has been able to make living connections with his African ancestral heritage. These connections take place at the level of the "ontological value of the word." In African philosophical thought, the word is not just a semantic construct; through its sonic capabilities it can also function as a symbol and carrier of the energy that many African cultures call "the life force." This is the word as "Nommo," the word as a carrier of creative and world-constituting energy.

In Maureen Warner-Lewis's essay this sonic/symbolic ontology of the word is examined from the perspective of the way Brathwaite has been able to link his use of words so intimately with music, particularly jazz, calypso, and reggae. In order to show how this connection is made and sustained, Warner-Lewis undertakes a diacritical syllable-based analysis of some Caribbean calypsos and songs from the Kongo. She then performs similar analyses of Brathwaite's poems to suggest a "transference of song rhythms to poetry." Thus what emerges from this first section is a clear, insightful analysis of the interdisciplinary nature of Brathwaite's aesthetic discourse and the amazingly creative ways in which it has brought together the African word, music, and poetry in powerful and original creole syntheses.

As we move further into the volume, we encounter in various ways the following question: what is the aim or purpose of this Brathwaitian

aesthetic discourse and its challenging creole syntheses? The answer that we get most often is that it is a discourse through which we can begin to imagine a Caribbean “alter/native” to the “missilic” culture of the West. Thus, many of the authors in this volume – such as Jeanne Christensen, J. Edward Chamberlin, Ileana Rodriguez, and Elizabeth DeLoughrey – have responded quite positively to Brathwaite’s innovative discourse. For example, Christensen takes up the myth-making powers of Brathwaite’s aesthetic discourse and their contributions to the challenge of fashioning a Caribbean “alter/native” vision of existence. In her essay, Ileana Rodriguez takes up Brathwaite’s notion of creolization and examines it in relation to concepts such as hybridity, *mestizaje*, and transculturation.

However, it would be an error to leave the impression that all of the authors share this positive response to Brathwaite’s poetic vision. Indeed, it is clear that the historians in the volume are not quite as taken with Brathwaite’s work as the linguists and literary critics. Most critical of all is Cecil Gizmore, who is quite determined to demonstrate that the concept of creolization has little or no theoretical value. One of his four main objections to the concept is that its use by academics tends to “de-Africanize and inferiorize Caribbean and continental Africans” (p. 191). He suggests that Brathwaite’s elevation of it to a “first-order concept” rather than a second-order one is the key conceptual error in its weakness as a theoretical discourse. He also suggests that M.G. Smith’s second-order use of the term was the more correct one. This is an interesting way to contrast Brathwaite and Smith, but in the end I was not convinced by Gizmore. From the perspective of the cultural system, I think that creolization can be a first-order concept. Further, in Brathwaite’s case it is clear that the tendency of some creole theorists to de-Africanize Caribbean and continental Africans does not really apply. Gizmore’s reading of Brathwaite’s historical writing stands in sharp contrast to that of Leah Rosenberg, who compares Brathwaite to the Indian historian, Ranajit Guha, the founder of the field of subaltern studies. It is precisely Brathwaite’s use of creole theory as a strategy of representing the voice of the black subaltern that Rosenberg likes about Brathwaite’s writing of Caribbean history.

Less critical, but quite cautious, is the paper by Glen Richards, who begins by outlining Brathwaite’s place in the development of Caribbean historical writing and the major intellectual responses to his creolizing of Caribbean history. However, he is concerned about the Afrocentric tendencies in Brathwaite’s works, as well as his binary oppositions such as missile/capsule and their impact on the objectivity of the historian. Finally, Verene Shephard takes up the issue of “enslaved women.” However, in my view she does not succeed in bringing her vital concerns into a substantive engagement with Brathwaite’s thought and research.

In spite of the variations in the power of the essays, this volume is a strong and valuable contribution to the literature on Kamau Brathwaite.

Libertad en cadenas: Sacrificio, aporías y perdón en las letras cubanas.
AÍDA BEAUPIED. New York: Peter Lang, 2010. xii + 233 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.95)

STEPHEN FAY

Department of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies

University of Nottingham

Nottingham NG7 2RD, U.K.

<stephen.fay@nottingham.ac.uk>

Despite the ferrous flavor of rusty and restrictive polemic in the title of Aída Beaupied's book, all apprehension of a dogmatic analysis of the ideological importance of liberty in Cuban letters is quickly eroded. Although obviously irritated by Fidel Castro's "self-critical shortsightedness"¹ (p. 99) (in revenge for which she often ossifies the ex-president within a premature and somewhat distracting past tense), Beaupied's epistemological sophistication preserves even her most pointed attacks on revolutionary Cuba's artistic asphyxiation from cardboard caricature or ideological impropriety. From the unabashedly intimate prologue, Beaupied makes it clear that her analysis, like many of the discourses it traces, "simultaneously affirms and denies, or at least postpones into an uncertain future" any definitive statements about the human capacity for freedom (p. x). From this position of innervating ambiguity, she illuminates both the emancipation and the tyranny that the pursuit of liberty has inscribed within the national narrative since feverish *Cuba Libre* dreams evaporated in the de-colonial anti-climax of 1898.

For Beaupied, this taut dialectic is most keenly expressed within what she calls Cuba's "integrationist myth," succinctly enunciated in José Martí's slogan "With all, and for the good of all!" (p. 85). To rally under this unifying flag, however, requires the sacrifice of idiosyncratic individuality to thus clear a "transcendental space for the national subject" (p. 7). Beginning with Martí, Beaupied offers an iconoclastic re-reading of the "Apostle's" 1895 immolation, portraying his ultimate sacrifice not in a premature and prosaic death, but in a staunch and dutiful lingering in life despite the seductive allure of eternal repose (p. 72). She thus attempts what she describes as the near-impossible: an exorcism of Martí's stultifyingly superhuman legacy by counterpointing his decisiveness with his ambiguity, his heroism with his "maddened and desolate" flight from existential phantoms (p. 99). For her, this fragmented and self-reflexive subjectivity is notably absent in Cuba's other overbearing archetype, Fidel Castro, for whom even the most seem-

1. Translations in this review are my own.

ingly bitter self-criticism becomes self-affirming “mythification” (p. 100). Beaupied could have gone on to explore Castro’s commandeering of Martí’s ideological legacy in *La historia me absolverá* (1953) and his fashioning of an integral and unambiguous hero pointing teleologically toward Cuba’s revolutionary conclusion.

In what is perhaps her most lucid chapter, Beaupied leaves behind the superhuman to chart the *über*-human and antagonistic orbits of José Lezama Lima and Virgilio Piñera around Cuba’s magnetic integrationist myth. Recognizing that both writers confront the potentially enervating awareness of the farcical theater of life, she juxtaposes their willingness to abdicate brittle individuality for the enveloping identification of *communitas* in order to overcome this awful epiphany.

For Beaupied, Lezama fought the terror of intranscendence with a fecund bifocal faith. He gave great credence to the cumulative force of human community that inspires even the most extraordinary individuals to seek salvation through a collective, not isolated encounter with the divine; he believed in the redemptive power of intellectual and imaginative labor: “the creative gesture that does not relent, despite being pre-condemned to failure, is the liberated and liberating act *par excellence*” (p. 180). Beaupied’s confessed empathy for this poetically pursued state of grace only enhances her landmark analysis of Lezamian faith in the transcendental *imago*.

In contrast, Beaupied portrays Piñera taking small comfort in what he saw as the “modest freedom” offered by unfettered artistic creation (p. 155). Instead, Piñera sought to puncture the pathos of humankind’s inexorable fate with *choteo*, an insolent raspberry blown at bitter life and, more pointedly, at the Wagnerian drama of Castro’s revolutionary crusade (p. 120). Although acerbic humor is undoubtedly one of Piñera’s most effective literary weapons, a less pessimistic interpretation of his rebel yell is possible. Spurning the Revolution’s messianic creed, Piñera turns to Sisyphus for succor. Beaupied acknowledges the potential importance of Albert Camus’s *The Myth of Sisyphus* (1942) in Piñera’s imaginative formation, but I would go further.² In Camus’s essay, the condemned king trudges down the mountain of his eternal torment with an unexpected smile on his face: “One must imagine Sisyphus happy,” says Camus (2000:111). Virgilio defended himself from despair with this same enigmatic contentment born neither of masochism nor of madness, but of the metaphysic connecting Piñera to Sisyphus to Beaupied’s deconstructed José Martí. All smile through their agony not because of a leap of faith toward transcendence, but because of stoical equanimity before the frustrations of life, because, as Beaupied claims for Martí, they are confident that their suffering has been sufficient to spare them the

2. Beaupied cites Enrico Mario Santi’s claim that Camus’s essay was Piñera’s bible during his Buenos Aires exile (p. 137-38, n. 7).

“painful ill of living once again.”³ The Apostle’s ill-fated dash into battle and Piñera’s existential “compromise with the here and now” (p. 157) are therefore not lamentable acts of narcissistic suicide, but a Sisyphian and serendipitous disposition to death, an insistence on the freedom to die on one’s own terms and with all scores settled.

After two hundred pages of epistemological distance from the myth of liberty, Beaupied makes of her conclusion an optimistic paean to freedom, “more as a wish than as an interpretation” (p. 201). The seemingly irreconcilable and perennially restless protagonists of the myth of an integrated and cathartically cleansed island come together, not at the exhausted end of a teleological odyssey nor in existential anomie, but in a placeless and timeless act of sublime (self)pardon. “Aché” says Beaupied, meaning “with God’s grace,” and that surely is a myth to be saluted.

3. From Martí’s “Canto de Otoño,” cited in Beaupied, p. 73.

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The Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives. BABACAR M’BAYE. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009. x + 247 pp. (Cloth US\$ 50.00)

OLABODE IBIRONKE
Department of English
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.
<ibironke@jhu.edu>

From Henry Louis Gates’s *Signifying Monkey* to Richard Burton’s *Afro-Creole*, the question of the African heritage in the black diaspora as manifest in New World literary and cultural experiences and expressions has been a major focus of Black Studies. While these represent the cultural dimensions and connectedness of global black culture, works such as Cedric Robinson’s *The Black Radical Tradition* and Adeleke Adeeko’s *The Slave Rebellion* explore the unities of black ideologies and strategies of struggle. Babacar M’baye’s

The Trickster Comes West is a bold attempt to extend the definitions of Pan-Africanism by locating ideologies and strategies of the struggles of peoples of African descent, especially African slaves, not only in black cultural practices but in an originary context of folkloric imagination. The syllogism implicit in the book's argument is that slave resistance has a shared character that is peculiarly African, a character that is rooted in slave folklore, which itself is derivative of African folklore. We are to believe, therefore, that African folklore gave form and force to the very nature and tactics of subversion and revolt among African slaves. The book's strength lies in the vast knowledge of African folklore, especially West African, that was deployed in contextualizing, suggesting, and attributing motivations to slave-authors' thoughts and actions. These authors include Phillis Wheatley, Cugoano, Olaudah Equiano, Elizabeth Hart Thwaites and Anne Hart Gilbert, and Mary Prince.

The book is appropriately divided into five chapters bounded by a substantial introduction and brief conclusion. The mode of analysis is one that seeks equivalences in African folklore for every enunciation of thought, verbal style, and mode of action. For M'baye, comparability establishes connections but also sufficient grounds for claims of influence and causation.

Chapter 1 describes the example of the black slave poet Phillis Wheatley who was brought to Boston on a slave ship from the Senegambian region at around the age of seven or eight. The chapter uses letters and poems by Wheatley and her acquaintances as well as documents that suggest a significant presence of Senegambians in the Boston area to argue that she must have been familiar with Senegambian tales of *Leuk* and *Bouki* – Monkey and Hyena – both before and after her enslavement, so that her ability to negotiate her freedom, and build community and cultivate solidarity among blacks, was the direct result of a residual consciousness acquired from the trickster figures in those tales. The chapter also seeks to show African roots of Wheatley's supposed Puritan sensibilities. The poet's representation and invocation of the image of Ethiopia as a spiritual vision of black uprising and apparent subtlety and indirectness in an adversarial context doubtlessly gives initial credibility to this mode of Pan-Africanist reading.

Chapter 2 examines African folklore and political ideologies in the work of Quobna Cugoano. The worldview revealed in Cugoano's critique of slavery, M'baye claims, derives from Akan social values, leading to the claim M'baye frequently makes: "Though he dwells in Akan folktales, *Anansi* is the living force that inspired the Black revolutionaries of the diaspora to gather strength from all sides of their societies for the liberation of their people" (p. 96). It is also in this chapter that the analysis begins to examine the similarity between the roles played by the authors in their immediate circumstances and those played by characters in African folklores.

The mode of analysis described in Chapters 1 and 2 having been established, similar patterns form the basis of analysis and claims in subsequent

chapters. Chapter 3 locates the influence of Igbo folklore on Equiano's narrative. The ambivalence in Equiano, for example, is seen as resulting from the Igbo theory of duality. Equiano becomes like *Mbe*: he is resilient, adaptable, diplomatic, and indomitable, mediating on behalf of society, between the people and the gods, or in this case, the European powers.

Chapter 4 similarly assumes that the Hart sisters "would have known some of these trickster strategies and the folktales in Antigua" (p. 144). Thus, M'baye bases the combination of Methodism and African Womanism of the Hart sisters on their assumed connections to countertricking in African folklores.

The final chapter ends with Mary Prince and her refusal to return to slavery in Bermuda, exploiting the opportunities the British legal system could afford to her. Throughout the book, M'baye shows how each one of these authors bears very complicated attitudes toward Africa: their Pan-Africanism sits side-by-side with Western ideological influences.

M'baye's book does not simply posit affinities between cultures of the African diaspora or purport to demonstrate their origins in African traditional cultures, it does indeed break a radical new ground in elevating African folklore to the scriptural status of "guiding beliefs" that anticipate the experiences of slaves in the New World and provide consolation, comfort, and escape, both symbolic and real. However, M'baye does not overcome that basic problem of accounting for the inspiration of slave revolts. Was the declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in France necessary for propping up the Haitian Revolution? Or is it the fact of slavery itself that was directly responsible for the rebellion? That ideologies of slave revolt are comparable to modes of revolt in folktales does not conclusively demonstrate the origins of those ideas in the tales. Despite the seduction of the concept of the power of folktales in history that the book presents, one constantly and frustratingly feels that the proof is often the same as the assertion.

Cheddi Jagan and the Politics of Power: British Guiana's Struggle for Independence. COLIN A. PALMER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 363 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

JAY R. MANDLE
Department of Economics
Colgate University
Hamilton NY 13346, U.S.A.
<jmandle@colgate.edu>

Colin A. Palmer's study will stand as the definitive exploration of how, in the name of anti-communism, the British in the 1950s and the Americans in the 1960s grievously damaged Guyana's political development. *Cheddi Jagan and the Politics of Power* is exemplary in exploiting the manuscript sources available at the British Public Record Office and the National Archives of the United States, as well as archives in Guyana. The book is particularly clear concerning the shift that occurred when the interventionism of the Kennedy Administration replaced the formal colonial rule of the British. The latter, with virtually no consultation with the United States, had unilaterally removed the People's Progressive Party (PPP) government from office in 1953. But after 1961, Palmer writes, the Americans became "the de facto imperial master of British Guiana [possessing] an irrational opposition to Cheddi Jagan based on their rather flawed understanding of his ideological positions" (p. 312). With the exaggerated fear that under a Jaganite leadership Guyana would become a second Cuba in the hemisphere, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared in a February 1962 letter to the British Foreign Secretary: "I must tell you now that I have reached the conclusion that it is not possible for us to put up with an independent Guiana under Jagan" (p. 258). And so it was that the Americans stirred the colony's cauldron of racial mistrust, producing a catastrophic three years of intermittent communal violence. But the United States were not satisfied until the electoral process was rigged and Jagan removed to the political sideline. Only then, in 1966, was the fractured country permitted to proceed to independence.

Palmer defends Jagan and condemns the interventions primarily by maintaining that the external powers grossly overstated the threat represented by the PPP's Marxism. He writes that "the PPP was in no position to establish a communist state in British Guiana in 1953" (p. 42), and that the British anti-communist justification for removing Jagan from office "was largely bereft of substance, vacuous and an exercise in imperial irresponsibility" (p. 47). Indeed, Palmer writes that by the 1960s the "British were reconsidering their view of him as a communist. Years of experience in dealing with Jagan had led them to make distinctions between his use of the language of Marx, his associations with countries such as Cuba and the Eastern bloc and the reformist political agenda he pursued in British Guiana when he returned to office." In contrast, "the Americans seemed incapable of such understandings, placing Jagan into a communist straight jacket and framing their attitude toward him and policy for his country accordingly" (p. 247). Palmer himself believes Jagan's ideology was misplaced, irrelevant to the country's needs. He writes that Jagan's Marxism was "an ideological humbug, a sideshow, in a colony that needed to expend its energies less on such divisive ideological posturing and more on the hard task of effective nation building" (p. 190).

Neither Jagan nor other members of the PPP leadership made any effort to disguise their sympathies with the Soviet Union's ideology, lauding the

achievements of the USSR and the bloc of countries ruled by communist parties. As a Marxist, Jagan aspired to be the leader of a united working class movement that would first achieve independence and then later build socialism in the country. The problem was that Jagan always drew his electoral support predominantly from the Indo-Guyanese population. He was more a revered communal leader than the head of a multi-racial proletarian party. Nevertheless Jagan was in Palmer's words "arguably the most outstanding leader his country produced in the twentieth century" (p. 312). He commanded the largest constituency of voters in the country, and the rhetoric of exploitation associated with his Marxism gave him a powerful tool in the struggle for independence. Ultimately however he was defeated because, faced with the implacable hostility of the United States, he was unable to extend his political appeal to Afro-Guyanese voters. Jagan was never able to call upon a united nation to resist the powerful external and internal enemies mobilized in response to his ideology.

A turning point in Jagan's ultimately failed effort to elicit Afro-Guyanese support was his announcement in 1956 that Guyana would not join the Afro-dominated West Indies Federation. Jagan dressed up his resistance in Marxist language arguing that federation was a trap – a vehicle for imperial control. But his opposition almost certainly was an accommodation to the insularity of his Indo-Guyanese constituents. Indeed Palmer quotes Jagan as saying that Indo-Guyanese "are almost 100 percent opposed to Federation" (p. 198). Counterfactual history can never be done with precision. But it does seem safe to say that in turning Guyana against the Federation, Jagan compounded his difficulties in widening the base of his support. At the same time, Guyana's absence from the Federation severely damaged the process of regional nation-building. Unfortunately, the consequences of Jagan's role as a communal leader are not fully explored by Palmer.

Thus it is that not even as skilled a historian as Palmer has taken the full measure of Cheddi Jagan. It is important, I think, not only to identify the destructive role played by the United States and Great Britain in Guyana's tragedy but also to identify the role played by Jagan and the PPP in the country's near-dismemberment. In this, the problem was not so much Jagan's Marxism. Rather it was his inability or unwillingness to resist the role of communal leader.

A Language of Song: Journeys in the Musical World of the African Diaspora.
SAMUEL CHARTERS. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009. x + 352 pp.
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KENNETH BILBY
Center for Black Music Research
Columbia College Chicago
Chicago IL 60605, U.S.A.
<kbilby@colum.edu>

Any new book by Samuel Charters ought to pique the interest of those who comprehend the musics of Africa and its multiple diasporas as part of a larger whole. A ground-breaking researcher, recordist, and collector of African American vernacular music in the southern United States, Charters has made vital contributions to the documentation of jazz and the blues over the last half century. But he has gone way beyond this, turning his sights to West Africa, South America, and the Caribbean as well. This book, a collection of reminiscences from a lifetime of travel in search of musical resonance between different parts of the Afro-Atlantic world, demonstrates both the strengths and weaknesses of Charters's approach to this vast and complex topic. It is an approach combining ethnographic and literary preoccupations, often leaning toward poetic and impressionistic description.

Nine of the fourteen chapters deal with non-Caribbean locations (Gambia, the Canary Islands, the Georgia Sea Islands, Alabama, Missouri, Harlem, southwestern Louisiana, Brazil, and New Orleans – although some would argue for the “Caribbeanness” of the latter). Not surprisingly, the sections devoted to the places and musical traditions Charters knows best – those in the United States – are the strongest, and I recommend these chapters unhesitatingly to readers interested in learning more about the kinds of field experiences lying behind his important contributions to the study of this particular branch of African diasporic music. Here, I will restrict my comments to the five chapters that deal directly with the Caribbean.

Charters fittingly begins his Caribbean ruminations with a chapter on the Bahamas, an area he first visited early in his career, during the 1950s, and where he ended up spending more, and more intimate, time than anywhere else in the region (as detailed lovingly in a previously published memoir on this early Bahamian research [Charters 1999]). One can sense here a more solid ethnographic foundation than in the other Caribbean chapters. Special attention is given to a few performers from Andros Island, such as guitarist Joseph Spence and singer John Roberts, who were later to achieve some fame among folk music enthusiasts in the United States and Europe, partly

because of Charters's early recordings. This chapter, in my view, is one of the most satisfying in the book.

Moving on to Trinidad, to which Charters devotes two chapters (one on calypso, the other on pan), the narrative transitions into something approaching a travelogue, with all the potential for both insight and superficiality this suggests. Here, he is clearly just passing through, a highly educated tourist, but a tourist nonetheless. No matter how sensitive an observer, he has too little time and too little experience of the local milieu he is observing to provide the necessary context for his observations. And so he turns to other writers for help. Unfortunately, he limits himself to only two or three previous studies – and not necessarily the most helpful of the many high-quality sources available to the student of Trinidadian music.

His actual ethnography seems to consist primarily of activities such as interviewing a local author of a book on calypso, visiting a record store and talking with the staff, and engaging a clerk at his hotel in conversation, although he does visit the modern version of a calypso tent and a variety of pan yards in Port of Spain. Because of his years of exposure to Caribbean music through recordings, books, and fieldwork in other places, and his skill as a writer, he is able to squeeze a surprising amount of interesting and evocative prose out of this rather flimsy base. But the descriptions, for the most part, lack real depth and add little to our knowledge of musical life in Trinidad.

The chapter on Jamaica – one of the weakest in the book, in my view – suffers from the same kinds of problems, though they are even more pronounced here. To bring himself up to speed on the local culture in which he lacks a foundation (keeping in mind as well that the encounter with Jamaica described here took place many years ago), he relies, so far as I can tell, on nothing more than the liner notes to an album by Bob Marley and the Wailers, a published compilation of Caribbean field recordings, and his copy of *The Rough Guide to Reggae* (which wasn't published until some two decades after the Jamaican trip he writes about). Little wonder, then, that he misses so much and comes to so many odd conclusions.

Pulling into Trench Town with a reluctant taxi driver in the late 1970s, he is frustrated to find that the only music that meets his ears is a current hit by the U.S. act Kool and the Gang, which seems to him to be the only thing played on juke boxes and sound systems in the area. (With the proper local guidance, he could easily have escaped the strains of Kool and the Gang in a part of Kingston justly renowned for its huge contribution to Jamaica's indigenous music.) Many questionable, if not outright erroneous, assumptions and comments follow. "One of the interesting things about reggae," he states, "was that it didn't sound like traditional Jamaican music" (p. 211). Elsewhere he writes that "unlike nearly every other Caribbean style, the drums have a minor role in the reggae rhythms" (p. 215). (For a number of testimonies from key Jamaican session players clearly contradicting this view, see Bilby

2010.) He suggests that Bob Marley and the Wailers could not have created their music without the interventions of upper-class Jamaican record producer Chris Blackwell, because “popular music isn’t like traditional music – growing out of circumstances of culture and heritage” (p. 215-16). Only an observer with the narrowest exposure to music and musical life in Jamaica could arrive at facile and misleading generalizations such as these (and several others casually sprinkled through this chapter).

There are more specific errors as well, some of them suggesting a serious lack of familiarity with the scene being described, as when Charters refers to contemporary Jamaican dancehall star Sean Paul as “Jean Paul,” or claims that Ken Boothe (a well-known “vintage” singer associated primarily with the ska, rocksteady, and early reggae eras) “plays mostly uptempo music that goes by the name of ragga or dance hall” (p. 221). In fact, minor (and in some cases not so minor) misapprehensions and confusions pop up in various parts of the book – some of them quite surprising given the erudition and breadth of knowledge displayed by Charters in some of his other writings about African and African diasporic musics. *Kalenda*, we are told, is “a general term in the Caribbean for any kind of African-influenced music” (p. 186). (In reality, this term has most often been used to refer to a variety of *particular* drum-based music and dance genres found in various parts of the region.) At one point he mentions “South African hi-life bands” (p. 3), though the popular music genre known as highlife is actually identified with *West* Africa. And the text occasionally plays havoc with African geography in more egregious ways, suggesting, for instance, that the Yorubas who ended up in Trinidad “emigrated from the Gold Coast” (p. 156), while in western Cuba, “the largest proportion of slaves came from the Ashanti areas in Dahomey, and their language and religion were Yoruba” (p. 291).

These confusions and inaccuracies exemplify the downside to Charters’s impressionistic approach, especially when it is employed without a sufficient knowledge of ethnographic and historical particularities. Yet, Charters is a keen observer and a talented writer, and sometimes even his less-grounded evocations do succeed on their own terms. At one point, he provides one of the nicer descriptions I have seen in print of what is known in Trinidad as “the engine room” – the percussion section of a steel band, consisting of brake drums and other non-melody instruments (p. 200). And as flawed as his Jamaica chapter is, his portrayal of a reggae concert he attended along with a crowd of uptown Kingstonians perceptively captures some of the contradictions of class and color that continue to bedevil popular culture in Jamaica (pp. 221-25). Another highlight of this chapter is Charters’s account of his brief encounter with reggae mystic and dub innovator Augustus Pablo (born Horace Swaby) (p. 225-28) – one of the few published descriptions of this iconic figure, who died in 1999. His highly impressionistic depiction of Pablo—“I felt as though I had ventured too close to a shy antelope that would

rise up on its long legs and sprint through the door if I came a step closer,” he writes (p. 227) – seems believable, but one wishes he had spent more time with this enigmatic character and been able to draw him into a more meaningful conversation.

Of the Caribbean chapters, the Cuban one is perhaps best suited to Charters’s penchant for highly personal prose, since it centers on a single musician, expatriate pianist and bandleader Bebo Valdés, with whom he obviously has a good rapport. But the chapter also includes a less edifying section that has Charters playing musical tourist in Havana.

The value of this book probably lies primarily in the personal memories and reflections it leaves of various milestones in a long and distinguished career – one that continues to this day. It makes for enjoyable reading, and despite its flaws it will be received with gratitude by students of African diasporic musics who have been inspired at one time or another by Charters’s pioneering work, myself included.

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Man Vibes: Masculinities in Jamaican Dancehall. DONNA P. HOPE. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2010. xx + 188 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

ERIC BINDLER
Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology
Indiana University
Bloomington IN 47408, U.S.A.
<ebindler@indiana.edu>

This study is the most recent contribution to a growing body of scholarship that focuses on Jamaican dancehall, “the most pervasive and persistent manifestation of Jamaican popular culture” since the early 1980s (p. xiii). Donna Hope’s principal project is to examine a semi-chronological sequence of five “exemplars” of masculinity prominent in dancehall discourse, and to analyze

the ways in which these models simultaneously draw upon, reinforce, and transgress the ideals of Jamaican “hegemonic masculinity” – the “configuration of gender practice which surreptitiously legitimates patriarchy and guarantees a dominant position for particular groups of men” at any given time (p. 3) – imposed by the middle class on the (largely lower-class) consumers of dancehall culture. Her argument is that while the enactments of masculinity championed in dancehall are often perceived as irreconcilable with those typical of “polite” middle-class Jamaican society, both are in fact informed by the same shifting stock of hegemonic values; a change in the latter inspires a change in the former. Dancehall culture, however, does not merely passively reflect these fluctuations but actively provokes them, especially in an age of “hegemonic dissolution” in which Jamaica’s formal social institutions have become increasingly stagnant and ineffectual. In other words, even the most progressive renditions of “dancehallized” masculinity are still at least partly constituted by – and constitutive of – the most current hegemonic middle-class standards of Jamaican manhood. Throughout the book, Hope supports her assertions with detailed ethnographic data as well as analyses of popular dancehall lyrics pertinent to the various ideals of masculinity she interrogates.

In the introduction, Hope surveys the bodies of scholarship devoted to dancehall music/culture and Caribbean gender studies. She notes that while most research on gender construction in dancehall has focused on women, her analysis of dancehall culture’s representations of masculinity “is extremely valuable in the quest for a fuller understanding of the gendered structures of power” at play in Jamaica (p. xvi). Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical framework that informs the investigation and presents a historical overview of Caribbean gender roles. Chapters 2–6 each present an in-depth examination of one of the five “exemplars” of masculinity promoted in dancehall culture in relation to the corresponding hegemonic ideals of manhood prominent in Jamaican society at large. Though the exemplars are rendered as discrete archetypes of masculinity in a chronological sequence of development, Hope emphasizes that all five are still at play in modern dancehall culture.

Chapter 2 focuses on the ideal of promiscuous/polygamous heterosexuality, a wholly traditional/hegemonic masculine trope dating back to the 1980s that emphasizes the social and sexual domination of women. Chapter 3 discusses the fetishization of firearms and violence as routes to male empowerment which also originated in the 1980s; while this rendition of dancehallized masculinity is considered too extreme for “polite” middle-class Jamaican society, it still draws upon the fantasies of violence and aggression that Hope alleges run throughout the Jamaican class hierarchy, and is therefore fully hegemonic. Chapter 4 interrogates the anti-homosexual discourses that arose in the 1990s and are an outgrowth of a general misogynistic fear of what are perceived as the disempowering effects of feminization. While this model of dancehallized masculinity is rooted in the rampant homophobia propagated

by such hegemonic social institutions as the legal system and organized religion, its propensity to make homosexuality “visible” is antithetical to the middle-class preference for simply ignoring the issue, and it is thus simultaneously hegemonic and transgressive. Chapter 5 examines the more recent fascination with conspicuous consumption, in which ostentatious displays of middle-class material goods represent attempts to claim excessive amounts of wealth and status by lower-class men who in reality have little of either; though this exemplar draws upon hegemonic ideals of consumerism, its flamboyance borders on the feminine and therefore represents an important transgression of the strictly heterosexual/anti-homosexual standards of masculinity discussed above. Hope investigates the current trend toward overtly feminine self-adornment and eroticized dancing in Chapter 6, and argues in the Conclusion that this seemingly transgressive masculine exemplar in fact represents the newest rendition of hegemonic masculinity in dancehall culture and Jamaican society at large. Indeed, while it may be a more progressive standard of manhood than the previous models, it is still informed by patriarchal middle-class values, a truly empowering masculinity would instead emphasize responsible parenting and self-development.

While the arguments presented in *Man Vibes* are well-supported and thought-provoking, there are some minor inconsistencies. In some chapters, Hope’s claims as to the isomorphism of the ideals of hegemonic masculinity and the values of Jamaican middle-class society are less convincing than in others; her discussion of the fetishization of violence, for instance, concludes with the assertion that even though dancehall’s “violent fantasies of masculinity purportedly depart from the traditionally accepted [middle-class] codes of good conduct ... its contestatory mode plays directly into and within the accepted notion of aggression and violence as constituent components of hegemonic masculinity” (p. 65). Her arguments about “accepted” forms of aggression and violence in Jamaica, however, focus primarily on their manifestations in lower-class – rather than hegemonic middle-class – spaces. Thus, while Hope clearly demonstrates that dancehall’s “extreme, ritualized, aggressive and violent masculinity reflects and maintains the gendered status quo” (p. 64), a more thorough investigation of middle-class renditions of these values would be necessary to support the claim that they are being imposed on dancehall’s lower-class participants from above. The book would also benefit substantially from a more meticulous editing job, as there are typographical errors throughout that detract from the overall flow of Hope’s arguments. Nevertheless, *Man Vibes* is a well-researched and captivating work on the most recent evolutions of the processes of gender construction in the context of a widely influential segment of Caribbean popular culture, and I would recommend it to anyone interested in Jamaican music/culture, Caribbean gender studies, and/or the impact of musical subcultures on the formation of gendered identities.